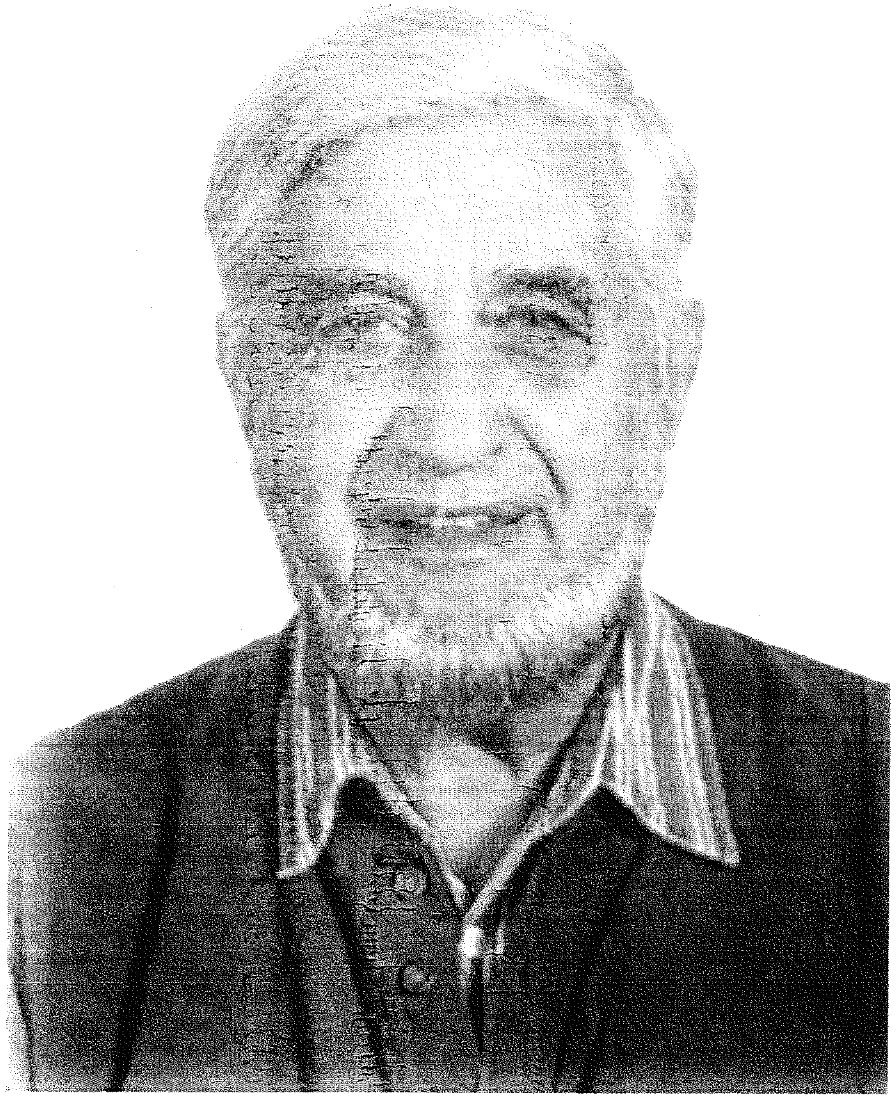


VASSILIOS CHRISTIDES

GRAECO-ARABICA
FESTSCHRIFT IN HONOUR OF V. CHRISTIDES
ΤΙΜΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΤΟΜΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΧΡΗΣΤΙΔΗ

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and presented to Professor Vassilios Christides
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ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΕΣ

Οι τόμοι IX και X του περιοδικού *Graeco-Arabica*, οι οποίοι δημοσιεύονται μαζί, αποτελούν μία προσφορά στον Καθηγητή Βασίλειο Χρηστίδη ως τιμητικός τόμος προς τιμήν του για τη συνεισφορά του στις Ελληνοαραβικές σπουδές. Ο τόμος αυτός περιέχει τις περισσότερες από τις ομιλίες που έγιναν στα πλαίσια του 8ου και 9ου Διεθνών Συνεδρίων Ελληνοαραβικών και Αφρικανικών Σπουδών, Οινούσες-Χίος (Ιούλιος 2000) και Νεάπολη Λακωνίας (Ιούνιος 2002), αντιστοίχως. Προστέθηκε επίσης ένας μικρός αριθμός άρθρων που γράφηκαν προς τιμή του Καθηγητού Βασιλείου Χρηστίδη.

Το "Ινστιτούτο Ελληνοαραβικών και Αφρικανικών Σπουδών" ευχαριστεί το Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού για τη συνεχή υποστήριξή του σε όλες τις δραστηριότητες του Ινστιούτου (έκδοση περιοδικού, συνέδρια, κλπ.) Ιδίως ευχαριστεί θερμώς τους κκ. Αθανάσιο Μάραντο και Κούλα Γαλιώνη για τη δημοσίευση του παρόντος τόμου

Ευχαριστούμε επίσης θερμότατα το Υπουργείο Εξωτερικών για την πολύτιμη αρωγή του.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The IX and X volumes of the journal *Graeco-Arabica*, published jointly, are presented to Professor Vassilios Christides as a Festschrift in his honour for his contribution to Greek and Arabic studies. They contain most of the papers delivered at the Eighth and Ninth International Congresses on Graeco-Oriental and African Studies which were held on the islands of Oinousses and Chios, Greece (July 2000) and in Neapolis, Laconia, Greece (June 2002), respectively. A small number of additional articles written in honour of Prof. Christides were also added.

The "Institute for Graeco-Oriental and African Studies" would like to thank the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and to acknowledge its continuous support in all the activities of the Institute (journal publication, conferences, and others). In particular, we warmly thank Mr. Athanasios Marantos and Mrs. Koula Galioni for the publication of the present volume.

We would also like to extend our gratitude to the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for its valuable support.

PREFACE

Le Comité scientifique du VIIIe Congrès international des Etudes gréco-orientales et gréco-africaines approuvé par l'unanimité des congressistes a décidé que les Actes de ces journées si fécondes constitueraient un hommage à Vassilios Christides, savant et organisateur hors de pair.

Cette double qualification s'impose à tous de façon éclatante. D'abord le savant qui a exercé sa recherche, en renouvelant les perspectives, dans bien des domaines: rapports entre Byzance et les riverains de la mer Rouge (Arabes, Axoumites, voire Blemmyes et, plus à l'intérieur, Nubiens), conquête de l'Afrique byzantine, puis de la Crète par les Arabes, marines et vie maritime, commerce tout comme piraterie en Méditerranée orientale dans l'ambiance byzantine et islamique, syncrétisme religieux entre Grecs et Nabatéens, et j'en passe! Ce large champ d'activité érudite lui est ouvert par une heuristique et une exploitation exemplaires des sources byzantines et arabes, le grec byzantin et l'arabe classique n'ayant pas de secret pour cet enfant d'Alexandrie, élevé d'abord en Egypte, puis formé à Athènes et dans les plus prestigieuses universités des Etats-Unis.

Un mot ensuite de l'organisateur, je devrais plutôt dire de l'animateur de toute une province de l'érudition. Collaborateur de la célèbre *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, fondateur de l'*Institute for Graeco-Oriental and African Studies* d'Athènes, maître d'œuvre de la série des congrès consacrés à ces études depuis une vingtaine d'années, qui réunissent régulièrement des savants de très nombreux pays en Grèce continentale ou dans les îles grecques, éditeur de la très belle suite intitulée *Graeco-Arabica*, Vassilios Christides a noué des liens étroits avec nombre de ses collègues du Proche-Orient, de l'Afrique du Nord, de l'Europe et des Etats-Unis. Il est aussi à son aise et aussi apprécié en Jordanie que dans les Universités de Princeton ou de Bergen, ou encore à la Sorbonne, comme au sein de tant d'autres institutions renommées où l'appellent de nombreuses missions de recherche et d'enseignement.

Cher collègue et ami, mon cher Vassily, il est on ne peut plus naturel que les participants à ce VIIIe Congrès, qui sont tous pour toi des amis

que ta cordialité spontanée, la chaleur de ton accueil, l'efficacité de ton aimable épouse, enfin ta bonne humeur imperturbable ont conquis, t'offrent ces Actes, à toi, l'amiral en Egée de notre escadre érudite, qui, toujours au gouvernail, l'as heureusement guidée à Chios, "l'île des vins", et parmi les "Oenousses" dont le nom célèbre le don de Dionysos, en gardant la main ferme du savant et du sage.

Jehan Desanges
President of the Scholarly Committee

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ

Με την ομόφωνη έγκριση του συνόλου των συνέδρων, η επιστημονική επιτροπή του 8ου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ελληνοανατολικών και Ελληνοαφρικανικών Σπουδών αποφάσισε τα Πρακτικά των τόσο γόνιμων εργασιών του να αποτελέσουν φόρο τιμής στο Βασίλειο Χρηστίδη, ανεκτίμητο επιστήμονα και διοργανωτή.

Αυτή η διττή ιδιότητα επιβάλλεται σε όλους κατά τρόπο φαεινό. Καταρχάς ο επιστήμων, ο οποίος πραγματοποίησε την έρευνά του ανανεώνοντας τις προοπτικές σε πλείστα πεδία: σχέσεις Βυζαντίου και παρόχθιων πληθυσμών της Ερυθράς Θάλασσας (Άραβες, Αξουμίτες, κυρίως Βλέμμυες και ενδότερα Νούβιοι), κατάκτηση της βυζαντινής Αφρικής και κατόπιν της Κρήτης από τους Άραβες, ναυτικοί και ναυτικός βίος, εμπόριο καθώς και πειρατεία στην ανατολική Μεσόγειο σε βυζαντινό και ισλαμικό περιβάλλον, θρησκευτικός συγκρητισμός μεταξύ Ελλήνων και Ναβαταίων και ούτω καθεξής. Αυτό το ευρύ πεδίο πολυμαθούς δραστηριότητας διανοίχθηκε από τον καθηγητή Χρηστίδη μέσω μιας υποδειγματικής δυνατότητας εύρεσης και αξιοποίησης των βυζαντινών και αραβικών πηγών. Η βυζαντινή ελληνική και η κλασσική αραβική δεν έχουν μυστικά για αυτό το τέκνο της Αλεξανδρείας που ανατράφηκε αρχικά στην Αίγυπτο και ανδρώθηκε στη συνέχεια στην Αθήνα και στα πλέον διάσημα πανεπιστήμια των Ηνωμένων Πολιτειών.

Μιλώντας στη συνέχεια για το διοργανωτή, θα έπρεπε μάλλον να τον ονομάσω εμψυχωτή, ενός ολόκληρου γνωστικού πεδίου. Συνεργάτης της περίφημης *Εγκυκλοπαίδειας του Ισλάμ*, ιδρυτής του Ινστιτούτου Ελληνο-Ανατολικών και Αφρικανικών Σπουδών της Αθήνας, πρωτεργάτης της σειράς συνεδρίων αφιερωμένων στις σπουδές αυτές εδώ και είκοσι χρόνια, συνέδρια τα οποία συγκεντρώνουν τακτικά επιστήμονες από πολυάριθμες χώρες στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα ή στα ελληνικά νησιά, εκδότης της ιδιαίτερα καλαίσθητης σειράς με τον τίτλο *Graeco-Arabica*, ο Βασίλειος Χρηστίδης καλλιέργησε ισχυρούς δεσμούς με πλήθος συναδέλφων του της Μέσης Ανατολής, της Βορείου Αφρικής, της Ευρώπης και των Ηνωμένων Πολιτειών. Αισθά-

νεται εξίσου άνετα και χαίρει εκτιμήσεως τόσο στην Ιορδανία όσο και στα Πανεπιστήμια του Πρίνστον ή του Μπέργκεν ή ακόμη και της Σορβόννης, όπως και στους κόλπους τόσων άλλων ονομαστών ιδρυμάτων που τον καλούν σε πολυάριθμες αποστολές έρευνας και διδασκαλίας.

Αγαπητε συνάδελφε και φίλε, αγαπητέ μου Βασίλη, είναι παραπάνω από φυσικό οι συμμετέχοντες σ'αυτό το όγδοο Συνέδριο, που είναι όλοι για σένα φίλοι και τους οποίους κέρδισε η αυθόρμητη εγκαρδιότητά σου, η θέρμη της φιλοξενίας σου, η αποτελεσματικότητα της αξιαγάπητης συζύγου σου, καθώς και το αδιατάρακτο πνεύμα σου, να προσφέρουν αυτά τα Πρακτικά, σε σένα, ναύαρχο στο Αιγαίο της ναυτικής μας μοίρας των επιστημόνων, ο οποίος, πάντοτε στο πηδάλιο, μας οδήγησες επιτυχώς στη Χίο, το «νησί του κρασιού», καθώς και ανάμεσα στις Οινούσσες, των οποίων το όνομα δοξάζει το δώρο του Διονύσου, με το σταθερό χέρι του επιστήμονα και του σοφού.

Jehan Desanges
Πρόεδρος της Επιστημονικής Επιτροπής
(Μετάφραση: Γιώργος Τσούτσος)

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Vassilios Christides was born of a cosmopolitan Greek family with roots in Constantinople, Alexandria, and Western Europe. The middle one of three brothers, his school days were spent in Alexandria, Egypt, where he graduated from the renowned Averoff high school. His family, even though of modest means, was liberal-minded and educationally oriented and would have liked him to study law like his grandfather had done before him. V. Christides, however, always of an independent mind, decided instead to enroll in the University of Athens as an undergraduate student in history and philology. This was a chance for him to live for the first time in his native country, Greece. It was his professor D. Zakynthinos who suggested to him to specialize in Arabic and Islamic history.

After graduating from Athens University with a B.A. degree and after holding a brief teaching post in a well-known Greek high school (Athens College), he resumed his studies at the University of California, Los Angeles (M.A., 1962) and Princeton University (Ph.D., 1970, with a dissertation on the image of the pre-Islamic Arabs in the Byzantine sources). Among his teachers were Philip K. Hitti and Bernard Lewis. He would later return to Princeton as a visiting scholar at the Institute for Advanced Study in 1980 and 1996, and as a Research Fellow in 1999. In the United States he taught briefly at St. John's College, Annapolis (1969-1970) and at the University of Minnesota (1970-1971), before accepting a teaching position at Columbia University on Byzantine and Near Eastern history and civilization (1971-1977).

At the threshold of an academic career in the United States, V. Christides decided in 1978 to return to Greece for family reasons, where he taught at the University of Thessaloniki (1978-1982). It was while collecting material for a planned monograph on the conquest of Crete by the Arabs (9th-10th cent. A.D.), that he first became interested in maritime history. In particular he focused on the comparative study

of Arab and Byzantine ship types, navigation, and naval tactics, for which bibliography was so meagre. His good command of four major languages – classical and modern Greek, classical and colloquial Arabic, English, and French – and his adequate command of Persian, along with his ability to trace, accurately translate, and evaluate with an historian's eye the Arabic sources (many of them unpublished in the English-speaking world) made him ideally equipped for this task. His research resulted in the book *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824): A Turning Point in the Struggle Between Byzantium and Islam*, published by the Academy of Athens in 1984. His researches in maritime history have produced so far over 50 articles spanning a period of twenty years (1984-2004, see Bibliography in the present volume) on Arab and Byzantine navigation in the Mediterranean, Red Sea and Indian Ocean, making him, according to Franz Rosenthal, "the uncontested master on the subject".

Gradually V. Christides became aware of the absence of an institution for carrying out serious research in comparative Greek and Arab history and civilization in Greece, a field which was almost unknown and uncultivated. For this reason in 1979 he founded with a group of young scholars the "Institute for Graeco-Oriental and African Studies", a non-profit, non-governmental, independent educational association with the aim of organizing conferences and issuing scientific publications on comparative Greek and Arabic studies (historical, archaeological, literary). Following a preliminary conference at Thessaloniki, Greece (1979), nine International Conferences were organized by the Institute with participants from all over the world (Athens 1983, Delphi 1985, Athens 1988, Delphi 1991, Delphi 1993, Nicosia 1996, Cairo 1999, Chios-Oinousses 2000, Neapolis Laconia 2002). The abstracts of these conferences were mainly published in the Institute's academic journal Graeco-Arabica, of which ten volumes have so far appeared (I 1981, II 1983, III 1984, IV 1991, V 1993, VI 1995, VII-VIII 2000, IX-X 2004). Many of the Conferences also featured exhibitions of pictures from iconographical sources, as well as ship models (such as the 2002 model of the Byzantine *dromon* and its corresponding Arab warship, the *shini*), and even replicas of ancient weapons (such as the full-scale replica of an Arab and Byzantine flame-thrower based on the sources and on the evidence for portable flame-throwers in the Byzantine and Islamic armies, which was presented at Oinousses in 2000).

Recognition was not slow to follow. V. Christides was invited in 1989 to teach at the University of Ioannina, Northern Greece, where the first Chair in Greece devoted exclusively to Arabic culture and civilization had been created. He was the first Professor to hold this Chair in Greece from 1989 until his retirement in 1998. Moreover, from 1983 he has been teaching at the Greek campus of the University of LaVerne and from 2004 at New York College. After his retirement, V. Christides also taught at the University of Cyprus (Nicosia) and the University of the Aegean (Rhodes). During this time he trained many Greek students in Arabic history and civilization, some of whom continued with postgraduate studies in Europe and in the U.S.A. His support to young students is legendary. Due to his persistent advocacy, contributions by the most promising students found their way in international conferences and renowned academic publications, often to the surprise of the students themselves.

To the many students who have heard his lectures at the Sorbonne (where he was named Directeur d'Études), at the Universities of Berlin, of Bergen, of Columbia, of Cairo and 'Ain Shams in Egypt, of Yarmouk in Jordan, of Khartoum in the Sudan, of Kuwait, among many others, V. Christides is characterized by his youthful style, calm wit and open-mindedness but above all by his sympathetic assessment of every civilization judged on its own merits – and not those of its adversaries, as is often the case. His writings exhibit practical common sense, a sharp eye for detail, and an exemplary and often intuitive scientific assessment of any historical source, whether primary or secondary. Moreover, his aversion to verbosity and insistence on economy of style – a trait he inherited, as he himself claims, from the example of his teacher Bernard Lewis – is to be encountered in all his writings.

V. Christides has been honoured with the American Philosophical Society Award (1973), the American Council of Learned Societies Award (1973), and the Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship, University of Oklahoma (2002), among others. The award he would himself prefer, however, is to have managed to instill in his students a scientific historical sense and an inquisitively independent mind, qualities which bear testimony to the work of a true scholar and teacher.

G.K. Livadas

ΒΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑ

Ο Βασίλειος Χρηστίδης γεννήθηκε σε μία κοσμοπολίτικη Ελληνική οικογένεια με ρίζες από την Κωνσταντινούπολη, την Αλεξάνδρεια της Αιγύπτου και τη Δ. Ευρώπη. Ήταν το μεσαίο από τρία αδέλφια και παρακολούθησε το φημισμένο Αβερώφειο Γυμνάσιο της Αλεξάνδρειας. Η οικογένειά του, μετρίων οικονομικών δυνατοτήτων αλλά ευρείας αντιλήψεως, τον προόριζε για να σπουδάσει νομικά, όπως ο παππούς του πριν από αυτόν. Ο Β. Χρηστίδης όμως, πάντοτε ανεξάρτητο πνεύμα, αποφάσισε να εγγραφεί στο Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών για να σπουδάσει ιστορία και φιλολογία. Οι σπουδές του αυτές ήταν και ευκαιρία να ζήσει στη χώρα καταγωγής του για πρώτη φορά. Ο καθηγητής του Διονύσιος Ζακυνθηνός ήταν αυτός ο οποίος έστρεψε το ενδιαφέρον του στη μελέτη της αραβικής και ισλαμικής ιστορίας.

Μετά την αποφοίτησή του από το Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών και αφού εργάσθηκε για λίγο διάστημα ως καθηγητής στο Κολλέγιο Αθηνών, συνέχισε τις σπουδές του στο Πανεπιστήμιο της Καλιφόρνια, Λος Άντζελες, Η.Π.Α. (μεταπτυχιακό δίπλωμα, 1962) και στο Πανεπιστήμιο Πρίνστον, Η.Π.Α. (διδακτορικό, 1970, με θέμα διατριβής: η εικόνα των προ-ισλαμικών Αράβων στις βυζαντινές πηγές). Ανάμεσα στους καθηγητές του ήταν ο Philip K. Hitti και ο Bernard Lewis. Αργότερα, θα επέστρεφε στο Πανεπιστήμιο Πρίνστον ως επισκέπτης καθηγητής στο Ινστιτούτο Ανωτέρων Σπουδών το 1980 και το 1996 και ως ερευνητής το 1999. Στις Η.Π.Α. δίδαξε για λίγο στο Κολλέγιο St. John's στην Αννάπολη (1969-1970) και στο Πανεπιστήμιο της Μιννεσότα (1970-1971), προτού αποδεχθεί διδακτική θέση στο Πανεπιστήμιο Columbia στη βυζαντινή και μεσανατολική ιστορία και πολιτισμό (1971-1977).

Ενώ βρισκόταν στο κατώφλι μιας ακαδημαϊκής καριέρας στις Η.Π.Α., ο Β. Χρηστίδης αποφάσισε το 1978 να επιστρέψει στην Ελλάδα για οικογενειακούς λόγους. Από το 1978 ως το 1982 δίδαξε στο Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης. Ενώ συνέλεγε υλικό για μία μονογραφία που σχεδίαζε να γράψει για την κατάκτηση της Κρήτης από τους Άραβες (9ος-10ος αι. μ.Χ.), του κίνησε ιδιαίτερα το ενδιαφέρον η ναυτική ιστορία. Ειδικότερα, επικέντρωσε την προσοχή του στη συγκριτική μελέτη των αραβικών και βυζαντινών τύπων πλοίων, τη ναυσιπλοΐα και τη ναυτική στρατηγική, θέματα για τα οποία η βιβλιογραφία ήταν ισχνή. Η άριστη γνώση του τεσσάρων γλωσσών – αρχαία και νέα Ελληνικά, κλασσικά και δημοτικά Αραβικά, Αγγλικά, Γαλλικά – καθώς και η ικανοποιητική γνώση του Περσικών, μαζί με την ικανότητα του να ερευνά, να μεταφράζει με ακρίβεια και να αξιολογεί με την κριτική ματιά του ιστορικού τις Αραβικές πηγές (πολλές από τις οποίες ήταν αδημοσίευτες στον Αγγλοσαξωνικό και στον Ελληνικό χώρο), τον κατέστησαν ιδεώδη για το συγκεκριμένο έργο. Η έρευνά του αυτή κατέληξε στη δημοσίευση του βιβλίου *Η κατάκτηση της Κρήτης από τους Άραβες (περ. 824 μ.Χ.): Μία καμπή στη διαμάχη μεταξύ Βυζαντίου και Ισλάμ* (στα Αγγλικά), το οποίο δημοσιεύθηκε από την Ακαδημία Αθηνών το 1984. Οι έρευνές του στη ναυτική ιστορία έχουν αποδώσει μέχρι στιγμής περισσότερα από 50 άρθρα που καταλαμβάνουν περίοδο είκοσι ετών (1984-2004, βλ. Βιβλιογραφία στον τόμο αυτό) στα θέματα της Βυζαντινής και Αραβικής ναυσιπλοΐας στη Μεσόγειο, την Ερυθρά Θάλασσα και τον Ινδικό Ωκεανό, έργο που τον καθιστά, σύμφωνα με το Franz Rosenthal, "τον αδιαφιλονίκητο ειδικό στο θέμα αυτό".

Ο Β. Χρηστίδης διαπίστωσε σταδιακά την απουσία ενός οργανισμού που να ασχολείται με σοβαρή έρευνα και συγκριτική μελέτη της Ελληνικής και της Αραβικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού στην Ελλάδα, ενός τομέα που ήταν σχεδόν άγνωστος και ακαλλιέργητος. Για το λόγο αυτό το 1979 ίδρυσε μαζί με μία ομάδα νεαρών επιστημόνων το «Ινστιτούτο Ελληνο-Ανατολικών και Αφρικανικών Σπουδών», μία μη κερδοσκοπική, μη κυβερνητική, ανεξάρτητη εκπαιδευτική αστική εταιρεία με σκοπό τη διοργάνωση συνεδρίων και την έκδοση επιστημονικών έργων στις αραβο-ελληνικές σπουδές (ιστορικές, αρχαιολογικές, λογοτεχνικές). Μετά από ένα προκαταρκτικό συνέδριο στη Θεσσαλονίκη (1979), οργανώθηκαν από το Ινστιτούτο εννέα διεθνή με συμμετέχοντες από όλο τον κόσμο (Αθήνα 1983, Δελφοί 1985, Αθήνα 1988, Δελφοί 1991, Δελφοί 1993, Λευκωσία Κύπρου

1996, Κάϊρο Αιγύπτου 1999, Χίος-Οινούσσες 2000, Νεάπολη Λακωνίας 2002). Τα πρακτικά των συνεδρίων αυτών δημοσιεύθηκαν κυρίως στο επιστημονικό περιοδικό του Ινστιτούτου με τον τίτλο Graeco-Arabica, του οποίου δέκα τόμοι έχουν κυκλοφορήσει μέχρι σήμερα (I 1981, II 1983, III 1984, IV 1991, V 1993, VI 1995, VII-VIII 2000, IX-X 2004). Σε πολλά συνέδρια έγιναν εκθέσεις με εικόνες από εικονογραφικές πηγές, με μοντέλα πλοίων (όπως του βυζαντινού *δρόμωνα* και του αντίστοιχού του αραβικού πολεμικού πλοίου *shini* το 2002), ακόμη και με αντίγραφα αρχαίων όπλων (όπως το αντίγραφο σε φυσικό μέγεθος ενός αραβικού και βυζαντινού φλογοβόλου που ανακατασκευάσθηκε με βάση τις πηγές και τις μαρτυρίες για φορητά φλογοβόλα στους βυζαντινούς και ισλαμικούς στρατούς, το οποίο παρουσιάσθηκε στις Οινούσσες το 2000).

Η αναγνώριση δεν άργησε να έλθει. Το 1989 ο Β. Χρηστίδης προκλήθηκε να διδάξει στον Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων, όπου δημιουργήθηκε η πρώτη έδρα στην Ελλάδα αφιερωμένη αποκλειστικά στον Αραβικό πολιτισμό. Υπήρξε ο πρώτος καθηγητής που κατείχε αυτή την έδρα στην Ελλάδα από το 1989 μέχρι τη συνταξιοδότησή του το 1998. Επίσης, από το 1983 διδάσκει στο Ελληνικό παράρτημα του Πανεπιστημίου LaVerne και από το 2004 στο Κολλέγιο Νέας Υόρκης. Μετά τη συνταξιοδότησή του, δίδαξε επίσης στα Πανεπιστήμια Κύπρου (Λευκωσίας) και Αιγαίου (Ρόδος). Σε όλο αυτό το διάστημα εκπαίδευσε πολυάριθμους φοιτητές στην Αραβική ιστορία και πολιτισμό, ορισμένοι από τους οποίους συνέχισαν με μεταπτυχιακές σπουδές στην Ευρώπη και στις Η.Π.Α. Η υποστήριξη που πρόσφερε στους φοιτητές έχει μείνει παροιμιώδης. Χάρη στις έντονες προσπάθειές του, μελέτες των πιο πολλά υποσχόμενων φοιτητών του γίνονταν ανακοινώσεις σε διεθνή συνέδρια και βρίσκονταν δημοσιευμένες σε φημισμένα ακαδημαϊκά περιοδικά, συχνά προς μεγάλη έκπληξη ακόμα και των ίδιων των φοιτητών.

Για τους πολυάριθμους φοιτητές που έχουν παρακολουθήσει τις διαλέξεις του στη Σορβόννη (όπου αναγορεύθηκε Διευθυντής Σπουδών), στα πανεπιστήμια του Βερολίνου, Μπέργκεν, Κολούμπια, Κάϊρο, Άϊν Σαμς της Αιγύπτου, Γιαρμούκ της Ιορδανίας, Χαρτούμ του Σουδάν, του Κουβέϊτ, μεταξύ πολλών άλλων, ο Β. Χρηστίδης χαρακτηρίζεται από το νεανικό του ύφος, το ήρεμο πνεύμα του και το ανοιχτό μυαλό του, αλλά πάνω απ'όλα από την ευμενή αντιμετώπιση και αξιολόγηση κάθε πολιτισμού, τον οποίο πάντοτε κρίνει ουσιαστικά με βάση τα δικά του στοιχεία και

αξίες – και όχι με αυτά των αντιπάλων του, όπως πολύ συχνά συμβαίνει. Τα κείμενά του είναι υποδείγματα κοινού νου και πρακτικής σκέψης, μίας οξύτατης αίσθησης για τη λεπτομέρεια και μίας υποδειγματικής και πολύ συχνά διαισθητικής επιστημονικής αξιολόγησης των ιστορικών πηγών, πρωτογενών ή δευτερογενών. Η απέχθειά του για την πολυλογία και η επιμονή του στην οικονομία του ύφους – ένα χαρακτηριστικό που κληρονόμησε, όπως ομολογεί ο ίδιος, από το παράδειγμα του δασκάλου του Bernard Lewis – συναντάται σε όλα τα κείμενά του.

Ο Β. Χρηστίδης έχει τιμηθεί με το βραβείο της Αμερικανικής Φιλοσοφικής Εταιρείας (1973), του Αμερικανικού Συμβουλίου Επιστημονικών Εταιρειών (1973), ως και με την Υποτροφία Andrew W. Mellon του Πανεπιστημίου της Οκλαχόμα, Η.Π.Α. (2002), μεταξύ άλλων. Το βραβείο όμως που ο ίδιος θα επιθυμούσε, θα ήταν να έχει κατορθώσει να μεταλαμπαδεύσει στους φοιτητές του την επιστημονική αίσθηση της ιστορίας και το ανεξάρτητο ερευνητικό πνεύμα, αρετές που μαρτυρούν το έργο ενός αληθινού επιστήμονα και δασκάλου.

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CONTRIBUTIONS

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ABOUT NAVAL SIGILOGRAPHY

The figurated representation of the ships in the codices and seals responds to some iconic laws that make them more or less reliable as a historic source. Bearing in mind these laws, we are able to analyze comparatively the kept conservations in these two escriptorios materials –the seals and the codices- to have a reliable and proper image of the naval engineering in the European Middle Ages.

As M. Foucault[1] states, human beings have based their knowledge in the association of a form of language with another to reach the unity of words and things, combining, for this, the words with the images. This combinatorial method is as old-fashioned as its own writing, and its origins are found in the pictography, in the most antique document known in Egypt, the *Ramesseum papyrus*, twenty centuries before Christ.

Of the same form, the seal combines these two elements -the image and the writing-and even with the image only, to mean a personal representation or a representation of such a clear and valid authotity as the signature of the character or the institution that symbolizes. But this communication, accesible at that moment to the other interlocutor, obeys to an own language, a language that we must know to decipher its sense appropriately. The seal as an image is about to respond punctually to its laws and, for a correct comprehension, we must examine thoses rules to which the seal impression is subjected.

The images are able to serve as representations *-pictures-* or as symbols; they are also able to be used as signs. These three terms –representation, symbol and sign- are not referred to the three types of images.

1, FOUCAULT, M., *Les mots et les choses*, Paris, 1979, p.12, note 10.

They rather describe the three functions that the images fulfill. A particular image can be used for each of these functions and it is often useful for more than one at the same time. In general, the image by itself does not indicate which its function is.

An image serves merely as sign insofar as it denotes a particular content without reflecting its visual characteristics. In the most strict sense, it is perhaps impossible that a visual object is not but a sign. The letters of the alphabet used in algebra are signs. They do not resemble the things that they represent in no way. In the written language, the variety of groups of letters used to designate words serves for purposes of identification and distinction and, therefore, letters and words are, in this sense, signs.

Once we have developed this concept, the images, as signs, can only be used as indirect means, because they operate as mere references to the things that they denote. They are not analogous and, therefore, they can not be used, by themselves, as ways of thought.

The images are representations in the sense that they portray things placed at a level of abstraction lower than they are themselves. They fulfill their function by means of the capture and evidence of some pertinent quality of the objects or activities that they describe. The representations cannot be mere replicas, that is, faithful copies that only differ from the model for casual imperfections. The representations are placed at the most varied levels of abstraction, that is, a means by which the representation interprets what it portrays.

An image acts as a symbol in the sense that it portrays matters placed at a level of abstraction higher than the symbol itself. Therefore, it confers a particular form to the types of matters. Every image is, of course, a particular act and, when referred to another determined type of act, it serves as symbol. For us, this means that, in the context in which we are involved, we deal with figures inhabited by a sense that exceeds them and that overflows them; with forms that are constituted like symbols, -etymologically, this means that something visible is in place of another visible something-. It is in that character of coded language that certain images assume, in which it is patently revealed the necessity of undertaking on them an hermeneutics to which we refer as reading. The images contained in the seals are instead of words, descriptions, people, merits, military acts and even rights and, beyond this, concepts and ideas.

The represented image in the seals contains potentially a speech, developing its sense in a proper appreciation of the language in which it has been carried out, just like other specific languages such as the painting itself[2]. The foundational ambiguity in that every image is involved, is revealed by the word or concept that underlines it as a deep structure.

But the symbol has its own laws, that we must know and apply to the study of the seal as stamp as itself. Does the seal fulfill these laws? Is anyone able to affirm that the seal is a symbol and a sign and, therefore, it must be studied in this context?

Most of times, the symbol is used as a synonym of a sign, although we have already seen that there are different functions and, in that case, the same classifications can be applied: 1) grammatical examination, coming from Aristotle, 2) metaphysical, an idea developed by the scholastics, 3) philological, according to M. Müller, 4) psychological, created by J. Locke, 5) logical, defended by G. W. Leibniz and B. Russell, 6) sociological, advocated by P. Steinthal and M. Wundt, 7) terminological, supported by M. W. Baldwin and E. Husserl and 8) independent, a term coined by C. Marty, J.R. Pierce, W. Mauthner and H. Taine.

However, the seal when containing all these elements, shares in these classifications, although in a research like this, it exceeds highly its possibilities. The most common thing will be to distinguish between the symbol and the sign as follows: a sign is a natural signal; a symbol is an unnatural signal, that is to say, it is a conventional signal. For instance, the red colour in heraldry is a "symbol" of courage and fearlessness in the person who uses it. The way in which the degree of naturalness or conventionality of a signal can vary is not always clear when we face up to a sign or a symbol. It has been usual to define the symbol as a sign representing something, in a direct or indirect way. This definition is vague enough to cover in the practice every case: a sensitive object can represent an idea, and viceversa; a sensitive object can represent another object; an idea can represent another one, et cetera. When representing is understood in a very general sense, this can imply other meanings such as to originate or evoke.

The seal is, maybe, from all the productions and languages created by human beings, the one which better fulfills in this sense. It shares all these elements, but, yet more, its diplomatic value is an endorsement of its symbolic value. One of these values can not be understood without

2. EGIDO A., "Arte y literatura: lugares e imágenes de la memoria en el Siglo de Oro", *El Siglo de Oro en la pintura española*, Madrid, 1991, pp. 273-283.

the other one. And, at the same time, independently of its typology -iconographic, majestic, talking, equestrian, hagiographic or heraldic- the seal contains signs which function as smaller symbols. Therefore, a heraldic seal of a military man or a noble, will contain in its impression figurative elements such as helmets, small boilers, gun barrels and lances which are equivalent to the most representative values of the virtues or capacities to fulfill this profession, or specific elements that will indicate its ancestry or right to enjoy its social status. In its turn, the sum of these same signs forms a general symbol that individualizes and identifies it specifically with the seal.

Therefore, we are able to estimate, as C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards[3] have already made, that symbols can contain non-symbolic parts and that it may exist sciences, such as the heraldry, which have reduced these non-symbolic parts to its minimum expression, operating with symbols that they are, at the same time, symbols of symbols. The problem of the relationship between the symbol and the referent can be resolved, according to these authors, by means of a series of rules of the symbolism. These rules are absolutely essential because they constitute the base of all the communications, without which we could not establish any system of symbols and, therefore, any heraldic, semiotic or sigilographic science.

The five rules or canons are:

1. Rule of singularity. A symbol, and only one, answers to each referent, which is normally a complex one. In this way, a heraldic seal is the representation of a person or the proper institution that uses it.

2. Rule of definition. The symbols that may be substituted among themselves symbolize the same referent. With this, all the confusions of the synonymy are eliminated. The real seal at some moments, almost identical of a king to another, always symbolizes the monarchy, the territories over which he exercises his authority and the origin of the dynasty.

3. Rule of present time or effectiveness. According to this, a symbol is referred to what is effectively used for the reference, and not necessarily to what should be in its adequate usage. The representation of a heraldic seal, or the elements used in the iconographics, may be filled up with connotations foreign to its origin. For example, a surname, and the fact of giving value to another with which it had not any relation and acquiring it (marriage).

3. OGDEN, C. K. Y RICHARDS, I. A., *The meaning of meaning*, 1923, cap. I, p. 9.

4. Rule of compatibility. Any complex symbol can contain constituent symbols which may occupy the same place. Any of the elements integrated in the impression of the seal may substitute the whole seals.

5. Rule of the system or the structure. All the possible referents together form a system, in such a way that each referent has an only place in that system. The heraldry, serving as referent of the elements constituting the sigilographic representations, has a value or meaning given to each of the elements; in the same way, the iconography tries to give a value to each of the representations used in the impressions.

The seals fulfill all the requisites demanded by C. K. Ogden and A. I. Richards and therefore they function as symbols integrated in a system. We must study them in this way and also as integrated symbols in the systems –heraldry, iconography- which serve them as a language and give them sense.

The seal is endowed with an iconic body and a verbal legend, which may not appear in some cases, and possesses an important context, a decisive connection, as we have already manifested, with the world of the heraldry, the escutcheon, the device and the enterprise, which are going to know their golden period between the XIth and XVth[4] centuries and, sometimes, even with the coded images. The armorial authors, called kings of arms in the XVth century, as happens to Garcí Alonso de Torres, the author of *Blasón de Armas,* place the first origin of these marks[5] in the war and in the formation of a small military élite that will know an extraordinary development in the occidental tradition. The same testimony is also found in the Spanish genealogists of the Renaissance which served as a base to Paulo Giovio for his *Diálogo de las empresas militares y amorosas*[6]:

In the old coronycas, it is decided that the very noble and powerful prince, king Alexandre, who for that time was the monarch of the world, for exalting the courage of good servants and war governors and in order to create more brave men and virtuous combatants and also because they were the most noble fond of showing their courages and virtuous hearts against their enemies, the aforementioned king Alexandre of Ma-

4. PASTOREAU, M., *Traité d'Héraldique*, Paris, 1979.

5. MOUNIN, G., "El Blasón", *Introducción a la semiología*, Barcelona, 1972, pp. 119-133.

6. Lyon, Guillielmo Roville, 1561

cydonia ordered after a right and high deliberation and good advice, specially the advice of his master Aristotle, the head of his council, to give his master, war heads and also all the other knights insignias, flags, banners and tunics, which at that moment are called doublet of arms, according to the burning and authority of everyone.

In the world of the marine symbolic representation, the most important thing is its historic category granted by the reliability of the representations in the several types of sources that can be used for a more proper and exact knowledge.

In the Mediterranean zone within its naval tradition as galley, it is known, in the manuscripts, several types of boats of which we have essentially news of three: Dromons, Byzantine Cats and Táridas[7]. The galley used to be of 40 meters long and 5 meters wide and of scarce draught, around 2,5-3 meters propelling essentially through oarsmen to who the Latin sail helps. Its helms are carried out through one or two parallel rudders in the stern, allowing to its structure, length, narrowness and little draught, certain manoeuvrability, but it does not assure advantages in its propulsion when being necessary a disproportionate number of oarsmen in relation to the transported load. This Mediterranean model will be perpetuated until the XIIth century, without real progress from the traditional form of navigation of Romans and Byzantines.

At the same time in the North, in the Norman and English coasts, several types such as the Drakkars, the Snekkers and the Sneques, are developed, varying its length from 9 to 35 meters, wider than the galleys which always have more than 6 meters, being its draught inferior to 1,6 meters, of plane keel, non-salient, but with the same system of propulsion: the oar, helped as its cousins of the South of a square sail on a fixed mast. Besides this plane keel, the essential characteristic of the Nordic ships is the anfidromy –the symmetry in the construction of boats- and its direction is obtained by a rudder situated in the stern to starboard.

The logical evolution of these ships is to achieve a higher security on the high seas. For that, it was necessary to over raise this kind of gunwale, being converted then in paunchy ships which will be the most useful ones in trade, giving raise to the Cocas, the Knarrs and the Lougres.

7. GUILLEUX LA ROERIE y VIVIELLE, J., *Navires et marins de la rame à l'hélice*, París, 1946; RONCIERE, CH. de la, "Historie de la Marine Française; BASTARD, R. de, Navires méditerranéens du temps de St. Louis", *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale,* 3 (1972), pp. 327-356; NOUETTES, L. de, *De la marine antique à la marine moderne*, 1935; MERIEN, J., *La vie quotidienne des marins au Moyen Age, des vikings aux galeres*

Reliable or not we do not possess any representation of this type of boats, or very influenced for them, in several kept seals. In that of the boatmen of Paris of 1172, it is appreciated a ship with the stem and stern elevated, wih a very high gunwale, a fixed mast, rounded forms and a little draught. It is the typical construction of Normans adapted to the interior which would rise from the coast to the capital and which would result common undoubtedly when being used as a symbol of one of the most important unions of the French Middle Ages.

At the end of the XII century, the two construction traditions of ships, the Nordic and Mediterranean, do not seem to have great improvements because the miniature codices and the kept seals show only the same types of representation as the ancients. We are able to find the exclusive use of the oar-rudder, that would impede the technical progress, but a wide range of ships that we must analyze in future studies: tueres, exeres, conteres pentes, leburnes, aphractes.

In the Códex Germánicus, it still appears the oar-rudder, independent of the ship, but, in this case, it is axial, pivotante and leaning, passing through the ground of a small aftercastle. Therefore, at the beginnings of the XIII century, the European navigation possessed an undeniable defect: its helm was useless and ineffective, reducing the increase of the tonnage, sails, and nautical qualities, with which the navigation was almost exclusively of coasting trade.

From the XIII century, the change is appreciable in the shipbuilding. The figures of represented boats are modified, as it is appreciated in the seal of Ebling, in which the rudder of stern post is represented, a rapidly extended technique. A proof of this is the kept representations in the seal of the Rochelle, Damme and Douvres in which the difference between the forms of the hull and the helm is perceived, but both ships stick out still a lot of the marine level. They are a first step towards the type of ship, a form already established in the seals of Wismar, Harderwijk, Ipswich, Fuenterrabía and even Saint Sebastián[8]. Beside the rudder of stern post, they will possess forecastles and aftercastles. Hardly wood frames on which an awning is raised, during the XIII and XIV centuries, both castles constituted simple wood platforms on piles.

8 LIZÁRRAGA DURANDEGUI, J.M., "El sello del concejo de San Sebastián", *Revista de Historia Naval*, III, (1985) 9, pp. 77-97.

This model may be discovered in the Cántigas, the codex of El Escorial where the ships appearing point to a new stage in the history of the naval architecture. The previous stage is what Anderson has named the era of high fore and after ships, which we have already studied in the preceeding folios, and of which we possess evidence in the kept seals, but that we must confirm with other sources which, in our case, will be the textual ones of the Cántigas. It has been tried to search in Moslem ships, the immediate precedent of the figurate seals in the Cántigas, but these representations possess Nordic characteristics and it is probable that certain interchange between both naval engineering schools, that has already verified in other manuscripts, was produced assimilating techniques taken from the Byzantines.

If we observe thoughtfully the codex, we will find three essential types of ship that coincide with the kept ones in the seals and, therefore, to which it is conceded a figurative reliability: the galea, the galley, the ship, and the small boat. Each of these types appears in the codex fulfilling a function: the galea, a war ship; the ship of transport of good trains, and, in this way, the ships represented in the seals belong almost exclusively to cities related to the Hanseatic League or to merchant unions, and the small boat as light ship.

The galea is a low ship, narow and long, derived from the Greek and Roman constructions, fast, although with oars –till two rows are represented- and little easy to handle helping with the sails, of an only masts and spars, when the conditions permitted it.

The most represented ones, however, are the ships, heavy, paunchy, of square sail, the relationship between the length and beam is small, and, as a consequence of this, they have a very round hull, which is also confirmed in the representations of ships of the analyzed seals, of double masts and spars, with the foremast inclined, finished in the gatas or topsails made of hurdle or wood. We must bear in mind, as Salas[9] has already anticipated, the excessive arrufo, the pronounced curvature of the stem and the stern post, the simplicity of the prow, the bows of great size, and the rustic of the yards, sails and ropes of tackles.

In relation to the small boat, it appears sometimes in the codex although there is not any seal which confirms it. It is a small ship, light, of the same range as the boats or launches. It was able to impel equally by

9. SALAS, F. X. de, "Arqueología naval: hallazgo de la nave y galera del siglo XIII en el notable códice de las Cantigas", *Museo español de antiguedades*, VI, p. 56.

oar or sail. They are of pronounced curvature of the stem which exceeds in height the stern post, in those impeled by oar as in those impeled by sail. It is worthy of emphasizing always the prow, finished in sharp, shaped like a stem.

Alexander D. Beihammer

THE FIRST NAVAL CAMPAIGNS OF THE ARABS AGAINST CYPRUS (649, 653): A REEXAMINATION OF THE ORIENTAL SOURCE MATERIAL*

The first naval campaigns of the Arabs against Cyprus in the years 649 and 653[1] can be considered as a turning point in the balance of power

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1. Basic works for the theme in discussion are the following: A. Stratos, *Το Βυζάντιον στον Ζ΄ αιώνα*, 4, Athens 1972, 45–52, 279–280 (note VI); R. Browning, "Byzantium and Islam in Cyprus in the Early Middle Ages", *Επετηρίς του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών* 9 (1977–1979) 101–116; V. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824). A Turning Point in the Struggle between Byzantium and Islam*, Athens 1984, 168–172; N. E. Oikonomakes, "'Η Κύπρος και οι 'Άραβες (622-965 μ.Χ)", *Μελέται και 'Υπομνήματα* 1 (1984) 217–374 (extensive, but from a source-critical point of view a rather deficient study of the Arabic historiographical tradition concerning the Arab domination on Cyprus); A. Papageorgiou, "Μία σύγχρονη πηγή για τις δύο πρώτες αραβικές επιδρομές κατά της Κύπρου", *Στασινος* 9 (1986–1988) 167–175 (edition of the contemporary with the Arab campaigns inscription of Soloi); A. Cameron, "Cyprus at the Time of the Arab Conquests", *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Κυπριακής Εταιρείας Ιστορικών Σπουδων* 1 (1992) 27–50; C.

between the Byzantine Empire and the Arabic caliphate. With these attacks the Arabs made their first appearance as a naval power and after that time they threatened not only Byzantine territories in Asia Minor and Armenia but also the dominance of the Empire in the Eastern Mediterranean and subsequently on the islands of the Aegean Sea. Another interesting aspect of this topic is the particular situation of Cyprus, which ensued from the campaigns in the second half of the 7th century and is usually characterized in the secondary bibliography as a state of "condominium" or "neutralization".[2] Those terms, with all their modern associations from

P. Kyrris, "The Nature of the Arab-Byzantine Relations in Cyprus from the Middle of the 7th to the Middle of the 10th Century A.D.", *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984) 149–175; C. P. Kyrris, "Cyprus, Byzantium and the Arabs from the Mid-7th to the Early 8th Century", in L. Balletto (ed.), *Oriente e Occidente tra Medioevo ed età moderna. Studi in onore di Geo Pistarino*, Genoa 1997, 625–674 (the most recent and detailed work on the theme; ibid., 625–628, n. 1, can be found an extensive list of further bibliography); another revised version of this paper was printed in *Επετηρίς της Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 49 (1994–1998) 185–236; E. Chrysos, "Από την ιστορία του μοναχισμού στην Κύπρο τον 7ο αιώνα", Ε*πετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου* 4 (1999) 205–217 (on the monastic life in Cyprus at the time of the Arab campaigns); A. D. Beihammer, *Nachrichten zum byzantinischen Urkundenwesen in arabischen Quellen (565–811)* (ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA 17), Bonn 2000, 288–290 (No. 251–252), 294–295 (No. 256), 303–309 (No. 267) (summary of the source reports on negotiations and peace treaties between Byzantines and Arabs about the state of Cyprus).

2. For the term "condominium" cf. Kyrris, "Cyprus", 625: "a peculiar mixture of a semblance of neutrality with condominium based on a set of terms known as a treaty"; *ibid.*, 628: "The result was a mixture of neutrality, buffer and condominium that later on underwent subtle fluctuations and modifications". Christides, *Crete*, 168, n. 82, prefers "neutralization" instead of "neutrality". For a better comprehension of what we are used nowadays to describe with the terms "condominium" or "neutralization" it might be useful to remember the words of Patriarch Nicholas I of Constantinople who, in one of his letters to the Abbasid caliph, refers to the actual state of Cyprus more than 300 years after the first Arab raids on the island, describing the peculiar situation of the population in the frontier region between the Byzantine and the Arabic empire: "Οτι Κύπριοι μεθόριοι τῆς τε Ῥωμαϊκῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐξουσίας, καὶ οὔτε ὑμῖν ἀνταίρουσι χεῖρας οὔτε Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἴσης ἀνατέθεινται πρὸς δουλείαν τήν τε ὑμετέραν καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ πλέον τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ δουλεύοντες (ed. R. J. H. Jenkins - L. G. Westerink, *Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters* [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 6], Dumbarton Oaks - Washington 1973, Ep. 1: 10, 146–149). The population of Cyprus was obliged to keep a position of neutrality to both sides and to avoid offering military or logistic support for the one against the other. Furthermore the inhabitants were subject equally to Byzantine and to Arab taxation, while at the moment Nicholas was writing (at 913/914) it seems that there existed a slight imbalance toward the Arab side. Very interesting for this topic are also the considerations of Kyrris, "Cyprus", 629–638, 649–650, 655–674,

today's political reality, may not fit very well the circumstances of the 7th century, but they describe, at least approximately, the fact that both the emperor of Constantinople as well as the caliph of Damascus and later of Bagdad for several centuries claimed the rights of taxation and sovereignty over the population of the island. According to the Arabic sources the terms of the covenant on Cyprus provided (a) the annual payment of 7.200 dīnārs (= *nomismata*) both to the public treasury of the empire and to that of the caliphate, (b) the obligation of the Arabs to respect the fulfilment by the Cypriots of all their obligations provided by the covenant concerning the Byzantines, (c) the exemption of the Arabs from duties concerning the defence of the Cypriots against attacks of other enemies, (d) the engagement of the inhabitants to inform the Arab and the Byzantine authorities about eventual hostile actions of the other side, (e) the abstention of the Cypriots from offering any kind of support to enemies of the Muslims during their naval expeditions, but also the exemption of the Cypriots from giving support to the Arabs in those cases. According to another version the last term also provides for the safeguard of naval routes around Cyprus against enemies of the Arabs. A single tradition transmitted by aṭ-Ṭabarī refers to a term according to which marriage between indigenous inhabitants of the island and Muslims is not allowed except with the consent (*idhn*) of the Muslim authorities.[3]

Modern research on this theme has come to the conclusion that the above mentioned terms are the result of a gradually formulated treaty about the status of Cyprus which had as a starting point some agreements between the local authorities and the Arab invaders during the first and especially the second raid on the island, and which took its final form in the peace treaty between the emperor Justinian II and the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān in the year 686 or 687.[4]

The aim of this paper does not consist of a further discussion of historical

concerning the attempts of both the Byzantine emperor and the Umayyad caliph during the 7th century to extend their influence on the population by transferring a part of it to other regions of the empire and the caliphate respectively (between 691/2 and 706) and by implanting population from other regions on the island (Arab garrison in Paphos, settlers from Heliopolis/Ba'labakk in Syria in about 654). While from the Byzantine point of view the island continued to be a province of the empire, the Muslims considered it as a kind of "independent tributary state".

3. For the sources see the discussion below, 50-53. For a survey of the terms of the covenant and its sources cf. Beihammer, *Nachrichten*, 303–309.

4. Cf. Kyrris, "Nature", 149–167; idem, "Cyprus", 625–638.

events and chronological facts of the Arab campaigns against Cyprus in the middle of the 7th century. Because of the rich secondary bibliography on the topic all events transmitted by the sources can be considered as generally known. Neither does the chronology cause problems anymore after the discovery of the inscription of Soloi and the related notes of C. Kyrris,[5] so that the spring of 649 and the year 653 can be considered as sure dates for the raids. Nevertheless, the sources of the Arabic historical tradition deserve more attention than has been paid to them hitherto. Though these sources together with the texts of Christian-Syriac historiography form the core of information for the events under consideration, they have been evaluated until now only in a strictly positivistic sense, i. e. with regard to their historical and chronological data, and mostly by using available translations in European languages.[6] This procedure does not take into consideration questions arising from the genesis, structure and intrinsic logic of these texts in the broader framework of the early Arabic historical tradition on the period of the first caliphs (*al-khulafā' ar-rāshidūn*) and the Islamic conquests (*futūḥ*).

Since the naval campaigns against Cyprus can be conceived of as a continuation of the Arab conquest movement in the Asian and African mainland, it is advisable to compare the source reports on Cyprus with facts known from the campaigns against former Byzantine territories in Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt and North Africa. Taking into account the peculiarities of the Arabic source material for its structure and content, we are able to achieve a more suitable interpretation of the aims and tactics of the Arabs during their raids as well as of their behaviour towards the local population of Cyprus, on the one hand, and of the Byzantine reaction on the other.

The oldest reports of the Arabic historical tradition concerning the Cypriot campaigns are transmitted in collections written between the first half of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century. In particular the following texts must be taken into account: some remarks in "The Book on Finances" (*Kitāb al-amwāl*) by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/837),[7] the "Account on the Conquest of Cyprus by Mu'āwiya b. Abī

5. Cf. Papageorgiou, "Σύγχρονη πηγή", passim, and Kyrris, "Cyprus", 637, n. 34. For unclear reasons Kyrris' convincing arguments for 653 as date for the second campain are not accepted by all scholars; cf. for example Chryssos, "Μοναχισμός", 210.

6. Oikonomakes, "Κύπρος", passim, makes use of the original texts, but his translations in modern Greek are full of misunderstandings and even basic grammatical faults.

7. *Kitāb al-amwāl, ta'līf Imām al-ḥadīth wa-l-fiqh wa-l-lugha wa-l-adab Abī 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām*, ed. M. 'Amāra, Beirut 1989, par. 407: 236, 15–237, 3. For the author and his work cf. the introduction of the edition of 'Amāra, 5–59.

Sufyān" (*Dhikr fatḥ jazīrat Qubruṣ 'alā yad Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān*) in the "Book of the Conquests" (*Kitāb al-futūḥ*) by Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. A'tham al-Kūfī (written approximately in the year 254/858 or before 314/926),[8] the chapter "The matter of Cyprus" (*amr Qubruṣ*) in "The Book of the Conquests of the Countries" (*Kitāb futūḥ al-buldan*) by Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892)[9] and the record of the events of the year 28 of Hijra (25 September 648–15 September 649) in the chronicle *Ta'rīkh ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk* by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923).[10]

These texts can be considered as collections of records compiled by older transmitters of historical tradition who lived mainly in the second half of the 8th century. Although their works are lost, we can still follow their traces in the chains of transmitters (*isnād*) which the early chroniclers of the 9th and 10th century used to put at the beginning of each record cited in their works.[11]

As for the above mentioned text of al-Balādhurī, his first main source can be discerned as Abū Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī, a famous learned man from Madīna who served as *qāḍī* on the court of the early 'Abbāsids and died in 207/822.[12] His account begins with the discussions between

8. *Kitāb al-Futūḥ, li-l-'allāma Abī Muḥammad Aḥmad b. A'tham al-Kūfī*, ed. M. 'A. Khān, vol. i–viii, Hyderabad 1388/1968–1395/1975, ii 117, 14–124, 14. The year 314/926 is usually cited as the date of his death (cf. F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 1, Leiden 1967, 329). An earlier date recently was proposed by L. I. Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwād: A Source-Critical Study in the Historiography of the Early Medieval Near East", in Averil Cameron - L. I. Conrad (eds.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East. Problems in the Literary Source Material*, Princeton 1992, 349, n. 90, who suggests the year 254/858 as a tentative date of the composition of the *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*. If this is true, he belongs to the same generation of historians as al-Balādhurī, aṭ-Ṭabarī and others.

9. *Liber expugnationis regionum, auctore Imamo Ahmed ibn Jahja ibn Djabir al-Beladsori*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1870 (repr. Leiden 1968), 152, 16–158, 2 (the whole chapter), here for special concern 152, 16–154, 16. For the author cf. C. H. Becker - F. Rosenthal, "al-Balādhurī", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*[2], 1, Leiden - London 1960, 1001–1002; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, 320–321.

10. *Annales, auctore Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī*, ed. M. J. de Goeje et alii, vol. i–xv, Leiden 1879–1901 (repr. Beirut 1965), i 2819, 16–2827, 9. For the author and his work cf. Sezgin, *Geschichte*, 323–328.

11. For a useful introduction in the technique of *isnād* in historical tradition cf. Sezgin, *Geschichte*, 237–256.

12. al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, 152, 17: *qāla l-Wāqidī wa-ghayruhū* ("al-Waqidi and others said ..."); *ibid.* 154, 2: Muḥammad b. Sa'd – al-Wāqidī – 'Abdassalām b. Mūsā – abīhi ("his father"); *ibid.* 154, 6: *qālū* ("they [i. e. the same persons] said").

Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, the governor of Syria, and the caliph 'Umar (634–644) and his successor 'Uthmān (644–656) concerning the construction of the first Arab fleet (Mu'āwiya's plans were refused by 'Umar, and 'Uthmān gave his consent only on condition that the leaders of the expedition would take their wives with them, so that Mu'āwiya was joined by Fākhitha bt. Qaraẓa and 'Ubāda b. aṣ-Ṣāmit by his famous wife Umm Ḥarām), continues with a short description of the first and second raid on Cyprus and ends with the withdrawal of the Arabic garrison by order of Mu'āwiya's son and successor al-Yazīd I (680-683).[13] Furthermore, he adds a brief story of Umm Ḥarām's fatal accident with the mule and a list of high-ranking dignitaries of the early Islamic community who allegedly took part in the first naval expedition.[14] As an additional source al-Balādhurī makes use of some accounts ascribed to al-Walīd b. Muslim, a famous traditionist who lived in Damascus and died in 163/780. In addition to some other details, he transmitts a different report of the Arab raids and the circumstances in which the peace treaty was concluded, and thus it is of special value for the interpretation of facts given by al-Wāqidī.[15]

The *Kitāb al-amwāl* of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, the oldest of the above mentioned compilations, refers only to the version of al-Walīd b. Muslim,[16] which is quoted by him with nearly the same words as by al-Balādhurī. Moreover some names of the participants of the expedition are mentioned, which hints at the fact that al-Wāqidī obtained his list from a common source also available to al-Walīd b. Muslim.

aṭ-Ṭabarī refers to the same authorities as al-Balādhurī as far as the chronology of the events, the facts of the campaigns and the terms of the negotiated peace treaty are concerned.[17] In addition he adds some very

13. al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, 152, 17–153, 19.

14. al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, 154, 2–11.

15. al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, 153, 20–21: Muḥammad b. Muṣaffā al-Ḥimṣī – al-Walīd [b. Muslim]; *ibid.* 154, 11–12: Hishām b. 'Ammār ad-Dimashqī – al-Walīd b. Muslim – Ṣafwān b. 'Amr.

16. Ibn Sallām, ed. 'Amāra, par. 407: 236, 15–237, 3 (with same chain of transmitters).

17. aṭ-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, II 2820, 1: *wa-dhālika fī qawl al-Wāqidī* "this (i. e. the conquest of Cyprus by Mu'āwiya at the command of 'Uthmān) is [according to] the words of al-Wāqidī"; *ibid.* 2826, 5–8: 'Alī b. Sahl – al-Walīd b. Muslim – Sulaymān b. Karīma, al-Layth b. Sa'd – others from the mashyakha of the coastal region of Damascus (on the terms of the peace treaty); *ibid.* 2826, 14: al-Wāqidī (on the participation of Egyptian troops under 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ at the first campaign); *ibid.* 2827, 6–7: al-Wāqidī – Abū Sa'īd (an additional term of the peace treaty).

detailed accounts of the discussions between Mu'āwiya and the caliphs 'Umar and 'Uthmān concerning the approval of a naval expedition. These texts are ascribed to the early 'Abbāsid chronicler Sayf b. 'Umar from Kūfa in southern 'Irāq, who died during the caliphate of Hārūn ar-Rashīd (between 786 and 809).[18]

The cited traditions first refer to a correspondence between Mu'āwiya, who tries to persuade 'Umar of his plans, putting forward the argument that the island is so near that "in one of the villages of Ḥimṣ, the inhabitants hear the barking of their dogs and the squawking of their chickens",[19] and 'Umar, who on his part sends a letter to another high authority, the conqueror of Egypt 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, asking for his advice. As a result of 'Amr's serious doubts concerning the dangers of the sea, 'Umar refuses Mu'āwiya's request: "By god, one Muslim is dearer to me than all that the Byzantines possess. Take care not to oppose me; I have given you a command".[20] In the following passage an account of anonymous authorities of a correspondence between the caliph 'Umar and the Byzantine emperor on various fundamental questions of mankind is inserted.[21] There is no logical link between this story and the preceeding report, so the reason why it was placed in this context may be found merely in the fact that both narratives deal with the caliph's official correspondence. The following tradition also

18. For this person and his works cf. Sezgin, *Geschichte*, 311–312.

19. aṭ-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii 2820, 12–13: *inna qaryatan min qurā Ḥimṣ la-yasma'u ahluhā nubāḥa kilābihim wa-ṣiyāḥa dajājihim.* The text is translated by R. S. Humphreys, *The History of al-Ṭabarī (Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)*, 15, New York 1990, 26.

20. aṭ-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii 2822, 5–6 = trans. Humphreys, 27: *wa-ta-llāhi la-muslimun aḥabbu ilayya mimmā ḥawati r-Rūmu fa-iyyāka an ta'arraḍa lī wa-qad taqaddamtu ilayka.* Chains of transmitters for the above mentioned correspondence: *ibid.* 2820, 8–10: as-Sarī – Shu'ayb – Sayf [b. 'Umar] – ar-Rabī' an-Nu'mān an-Naṣrī and Abū l-Mujālid Jarād b. 'Amr – Rajā' b. Ḥaywa; and [Sayf –] Abū Ḥāritha [al-'Abshamī] and Abū 'Uthmān [Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī] – Rajā', 'Ubāda and Khālid: Mu'āwiya's letter; *ibid.* 2820, 15: 'Ubāda and Khālid: 'Amr's statement on the dangers of the sea and 'Umar's refusal; *ibid.* 2821, 6–8: as-Sarī – Shu'ayb – Sayf – Muḥammad b. Sa'īd – 'Ubāda b. Nusayy [al-Kindī] – Junāda b. Abī Umayya al-Azdī: another version of Mu'āwiya's letter to 'Umar and 'Amr's statement; *ibid.* 2821, 15–2822, 1: as-Sarī – Shu'ayb – Sayf – Abū 'Uthmān and Abū Ḥāritha – 'Ubāda – Junāda b. Abī Umayya and ar-Rabī' [an-Nu'mān an-Naṣrī] and Abu l-Majālid [Jarād b. 'Amr]: an extended version of 'Umar's refusal.

21. aṭ-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii 2822, 7–2823, 15. The text is connected with the preceeding passage by the words: *taraka maliku r-Rūmi l-ghazwa wa-kātaba 'Umara* ("the king of the Romans abandoned warfare and wrote a letter to 'Umar"). For this tradition cf. Beihammer, *Nachrichten*, 285–288 (No. 246–250).

belongs to the collection of Sayf b. ʿUmar and continues the interrupted sequence of events describing the reaction of ʿUmar's successor ʿUthmān to Muʿāwiya's proposals. According to Sayf and his authorities, ʿUthmān finally consented to Muʿāwiya's request, provided that the warriors who would take part in the expedition were volunteers: "Do not conscript the people or cast lots among them. Let them decide for themselves, and whoever chooses [to go on] campaign in obedience [to your call], support and aid him".[22] Subsequently Sayf cites an encomiastic description of the Arab admiral ʿAbdallāh b. Qays al-Ḥārithī/al-Jāsī, who was appointed by Muʿāwiya to the position of the fleet-commander and allegedly carried out nearly 50 naval campaigns without losing a man, until he lost his life in a Byzantine harbour as a result of a betrayal committed by a beggar-woman to whom he gave alms.[23] The last tradition transmitted by Sayf in this context refers to another letter of ʿUthmān to Muʿāwiya and other provincial governors (*al-ʿummāl*) which deals with the fundamental principles of the conduct of provincial administration.[24]

Thus, the traditions of Sayf transmitted in the chronicle of aṭ-Ṭabarī have only very few direct references to the Arab campaigns against Cyprus. The main concern of these accounts are the different attitudes assumed by high ranking dignitaries of early Islam towards the question of whether Muslim warriors should engage in a new technique of transport and warfare or not. In order to endow their statements with a higher degree of authenticity, they are rendered in the form of letters. As has been shown by A. Noth, letters of caliphs and Arabic dignitaries of the early Islamic period, although very often cited in the sources, to a large extent must be considered as fictitious.[25] Since the mentioned letters were most probably never written or sent, as the transmitters maintain, it is quite conceivable why some striking contradictions between the different reports occur. Thus for example, the Arabic authorities refer to different conditions on which the

22. aṭ-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii 2824, 2–3 = trans. Humphreys, 28–29: *lā tantakhibi n-nāsa wa-lā tuqriʿ baynahum khayyirhum fa-mani khtāra l-ghazwa ṭāʾiʿan fa-ḥmilhu wa-aʿinhu*. Chain of transmitters: *ibid.* 2823, 15–16: as-Sarī – Shuʿayb – Sayf [b. ʿUmar] – Abū Ḥāritha – Khālid b. Maʿdān.

23. aṭ-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii 2824, 4–2825, 13. The beginning of the following tradition (*ibid.* 2825, 10–11: as-Sarī – Shuʿayb – Sayf [b. ʿUmar] – Abū Ḥāritha and Abū ʿUthmān) also refers to the death of ʿAbdallāh b. Qays.

24. aṭ-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii 2825, 13–2826, 4.

25. Cf. A. Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition. A Source Critical Study*² (Studies in Late Antiquitiy and Early Islam 3), Princeton 1994, 76–87 (the second edition was done in collaboration with L. I. Conrad).

approval of the caliph ʿUthmān to Muʿāwiya's demand was made dependent. While al-Wāqidī cites the participation of the military leaders' wives as a condition, according to Sayf b. ʿUmar the caliph presupposes for his consent the willingness of the warriors who would take part in the expedition.[26] As for the legendary narratives which deal with the commander ʿAbdallāh b. Qays, no further mention of this person can be found either in reports of other Arabic historians or in non-Arabic sources.[27]

The text of Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī essentially seems to be an extended version of the material collected by al-Wāqidī which is rendered in the form of a continuous narrative without reference to transmitter chains. Nevertheless, his report contains some additional details astonishing for their high degree of historical accuracy. For example, a Copt named Ṭalya is mentioned as captain of one of the ships of the Arab fleet (*an-nūtīyu wa-huwa l-mallāḥu lladhī yudabbiru amra l-markabi*).[28] Although in a rather fictitious context (a conversation between Ṭalya and Muʿāwiya's wife, who is terrified by a heavy storm), the ethnic origin of the mentioned person is in full accordance with the pratice of 7th-century shipping, when in Arab warships the captain in charge of sailing was usually a Copt.[29] Another example of great historical accuracy is the writer's reference to a Byzantine fleet (*marākib ar-Rūm*), which was transporting gifts from the governor of Cyprus (*malik Qubruṣ*) to the emperor *Qusṭanṭīn b. Hiraql malik ar-Rūn.* (i. e. Constans, the son of Heraclius neos Konstantinos) and was seized by the Arab warriors before they reached the coast of Cyprus.[30] The correct identification of the Byzantine ruler in 27/649, which does not occur anywhere else in the traditions of the Cyprus campaigns, shows a high degree of acquaintance with the broader historical background, so that the details must have an authentic basis. After describing the conclusion of the peace treaty on Cyprus (in accordance with al-Wāqidī) and the return of the

26. Cf. al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, 153, 2–6 vs. aṭ-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii 2824, 2–3 = trans. Humphreys, 28-29.

27. In some works on the Cyprus campaigns ʿAbdallāh b. Qays occurs as an Arab leader besides Muʿāwiya and ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd (cf. Stratos, Βυζάντιον, 46; A. H. de Groot, "Kubruṣ", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², 5, Leiden 1986, 301). It should be taken into consideration that because of the legendary character of Sayf b. ʿUmar's accounts, the historicity of this person is very doubtful.

28. Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, ed. Khān, ii 118, 18–19.

29. Cf. V. Christides, *Byzantine Libya and the March of the Arabs towards the West of North Africa* (B.A.R. International Series 851), Oxford 2000, 78.

30. Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, ed. Khān, ii 119, 5–7.

Arab fleet loaded with rich spoils to the coast of Syria, the author does not refer anymore to historical events, but tells some edifying stories of moral character, dealing with the distribution of war spoils, which portray the conduct of the pious Muslims in those cases in an idealized way and apparently are to serve as examples for the reader in the ʿAbbāsid society of the 9th and 10th centuries.[31]

In order to determine the origin and further transmission of the aforementioned accounts, we have to follow the traces back to the older transmitters who collected their material before the time of al-Wāqidī, al-Walīd b. Muslim and Sayf b. ʿUmar. Since in most cases we do not have any information about the persons referred to in the transmitter chains, or the accounts are introduced by a simple *qālū* ("they said"), so that the transmitters remain anonymous, it is very often impossible to achieve clear results. As for the reports of al-Wāqidī, only in one case is the name of a certain ʿAbdassalām b. Mūsā and his father who transmit the list of the participants of the expedition against Cyprus cited.[32] Nevertheless, we are able to identify quite well the authorities of al-Walīd b. Muslim, who on the one hand transmits an account of Ṣafwān b. ʿAmr, a companion of the prophet Muḥammad (*ṣāḥib*), who according to Islamic tradition was an eyewitness to the battle near the mountain Uḥud in 625, and on the other hand refers to contemporary authorities like the Egyptian jurist and chronicler al-Layth b. Saʿd (d. 791), Sulaymān b. Abī Karīma and other learned men from the coastal region of the *jund* of Damascus/Dimashq.[33] Sayf b. ʿUmar mentions some well known personalities in his transmitter chains, like ʿUbāda b. Nusayy al-Kindī (d. 118/736), Khālid b. Maʿdān al-Kulāʿī (d. 103/721–722) and Junāda b. Abī Umayya al-Azdī (d. 80/699–700), but, as we have seen, his reports do not contribute a lot of historical facts.

Thus, it can be ascertained that the Arabic historical tradition concerning the expeditions against Cyprus consists of few reports which are transmitted mainly by al-Wāqidī and al-Walīd b. Muslim and whose main concern is the

31. Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, ed. Khān, ii 120, 7–124, 14.

32. Cf. note 9, above. Another report which may be ascribed to the authority of al-Wāqidī is an edifying story of the traditionist Jubayr b. Nufayr (d. 80/699–700) concerning a dictum of Abū d-Dardā', a pious companion of the Prophet, which is cited in the works of aṭ-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje, ii 2826, 16–2827, 6) and Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī (ed. Khān, ii 120, 8–15). The name of al-Wāqidī does not occure in the text and is restored in the translation of Humphreys, 31.

33. Cf. above, nn. 15, 17.

preservation of historical events, and a large number of accounts with a rather moralistic and edifying character, whose intention is not so much the description of historical facts but the idealization of early Islamic society as an example for the contemporary Muslim reader. The connection with Cyprus is only accidental and it would be possible to put the same accounts in a completely different framework. As for the origin of all these texts, there can be discerned several successive layers of historiographical tradition, which can be traced back to the first half of the 8th century. In the case of Ṣafwān b. ʿAmr, granting that the transmitter chain is reliable, it would be possible to date this tradition approximately to the caliphate of Muʿāwiya (661-680).

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For the remainder of this discussion, in which it is intended to analyze the way in which the transmitted facts of the expeditions against Cyprus are treated and arranged by the historical tradition, we can restrict ourselves to the reports of al-Wāqidī and al-Walīd b. Muslim. When we compare the sequence of events as it is given by these two authorities, we come to the conclusion that the two texts describe it in a diametrically opposite way.

According to al-Walīd b. Muslim, "Muʿāwiya himself raided Cyprus accompanied by his wife and God allowed the Muslim fighters to conquer the island forcefully and allowed them to pillage a great deal of booty. Afterwards the Muslims continued to raid them [i. e. the inhabitants of Cyprus] until Muʿāwiya concluded an eternal peace treaty with them in his days [i. e. in the days of his reign as caliph]".[34]

Thus, the cited authority speaks about a first campaign under the personal leadership of Muʿāwiya, which was followed by an uncertain number of other raids (at least one more in 653). The state of war between the Muslims and the inhabitants of the island was finished by the conclusion of a peace treaty which was realized by Muʿāwiya in the time of his caliphate (i. e. between 661–680).

34. al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje 154, 12–14: *anna Muʿāwiyata bna Abī Sufyāna ghazā Qubrus bi-nafsihī wa-maʿahū mra'atuhū fa-fataḥahā llāhu fatḥan ʿaẓīman wa-ghannama l-muslimīna ghanaman ḥasanan thumma lam yazali l-muslimūna yaghzūnahum ḥattā ṣālaḥahum Muʿāwiyatu fī ayyāmihī ṣulḥan dā'iman*. The same report with nearly the same words is cited by Abū ʿUbayd b. Sallām (ed. ʿAmār, par. 407: 236, 18–237, 2).

al-Wāqidī presents the course of events as follows: "In the year 28 [= 25 September 648–13 September 649] after the retreat of winter, or it is said in the year 29 [= 14 September 649–3 September 650][35] when the Muslims went to Cyprus and reached the coast of the island ... its archon sent word to them and begged them for peace, because the inhabitants of the island had submitted themselves [to the conditions of the peace treaty]. Therefore he concluded peace with them ... But in the year 32 [= 12 August 652–1 August 653] they [i. e. the inhabitants of Cyprus] helped the Romans during a raid at sea with ships they gave to them. So in the year 33 [= 2 August 653–21 July 654] Mu'āwiya raided them with 500 ships and he conquered Cyprus by force and killed people and took captives. Afterwards he confirmed their peace treaty".[36]

In contrast to al-Walīd b. Muslim, al-Wāqidī describes the first campaign as if no act of violence, pillage or devastation had happened. He only mentions the conclusion of the peace treaty which according to this version took place at the request of the Byzantine *archon* of the island (*urkūnuhā*) just after the arrival of the Arabic fleet on the coast of Cyprus. After quoting the terms of the treaty,[37] al-Wāqidī explains the reasons for a second Arabic raid on the island. Since the Cypriots broke the concluded treaty offering help to the Byzantines for a naval expedition, Mu'āwiya made another attack on the island. This time Cyprus was conquered by force and the inhabitants were killed or seized.

The basic difference between the two reports can be stated in the following manner: al-Wāqidī presupposes the existence of a peace treaty as late as 649. According to his version, the main purpose of the first campaign against Cyprus was the definitive conquest of the island, which should have been consolidated by the conclusion of a peace treaty. Thus, the same pattern can be observed as emerges from the Arabic conquests in Syria, Egypt and other former Byzantine territories. The inhabitants submitted

35. Previous research in the chronological problems has asserted 28 as the year in which the first raid took place. Cf. the bibliography in n. 1, above.

36. al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, 153, 6–9, 14–16: *fī sanati thamānin wa-'ishrīna ba'da nḥisāri sh-shitā'i wa-yuqālu fī sanati tis'in wa-'ishrīna fa-lammā ṣāra l-muslimūna ilā Qubrus fa-arqaw ilā sāḥilihā ... ba'atha ilayhim urkūnuhā yaṭlubu ṣ-ṣulḥa wa-qad adh'ana ahluhā bihī fa-ṣālaḥahum ... fa-lammā kānat sanatu thnatayni wa-thalāthīna a'ānū r-Rūma 'alā l-ghazāti fī l-baḥri bi-marākiba a'ṭawhum iyyāhā fa-ghazāhum Mu'āwiyatu sanata thalāthin wa-thalāthīna fī khamsi mi'ati markabin fa-fataḥa Qubrus 'anwatan fa-qatala wa-sabā thumma aqarrahum 'alā ṣulḥihim.*

37. al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, 153, 9–14. For this section cf. discussion p. 66-68 below.

themselves to the Arab warriors, thus preserving their lives and possessions by a treaty in which the Arabs obliged themselves to protect the subjugated people (*dhimma*).[38] According to this theory the second violent campaign must be explained as a measure to defend the legitimate rights which the Arabs had obtained on the island, and as a counter-measure against the treacherous behaviour of the subdued people. al-Walīd b. Muslim apparently ignores the fact of a peace treaty in the year 649 and emphasizes the bellicose intentions of the Arab warriors much more than al-Wāqidī does. Both the first and the second campaigns (though as for the number of the raids al-Walīd seems to be uncertain) were mainly aimed at the gaining of booty and captives. The state of war was not finished before an eternal peace treaty was concluded during the reign of Mu'āwiya.[39] Thus an obvious contradiction exists between the two authorities both as to the character of the raids (peaceful subjugation and punishment for treachery or gaining booty and captives) as well as to the date of the establishment of peaceful relations between the inhabitants of Cyprus and the Islamic state, a contradiction, which cannot be solved on the basis of the Arabic sources.

The reasons for this confusion may be found if we compare the Arabic tradition with the reports of Byzantine and Syriac historiography. For the purpose of this study we can leave aside the almost contemporary inscription of Soloi (in the gulf of Morphou on the north coast of Cyprus) from 655 which contains a brief account of the two Arabic raids, as well as some works of hagiographic literature which in the framework of a saint's life sometimes refer to the events of the campaigns against Cyprus and the situation of the population at that time.[40] Though of invaluable importance

38. For this pattern cf. also the discussion p. 65-67, below.

39. It is quite clear that the expression *fī ayyāmihī* ("during his days") or *fī wilāyatihī* ("during his reign") doesn't refer to Mu'āwiya 's years as governor of Syria but to his reign as caliph. Since Mu'āwiya as first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty enjoys a very prominent position under the leading figures of early Islam, one would associate with his name rather his caliphate than his government in Syria. Otherwise the expression would be formulated more precisely by adding something like *fī bilād ash-Shām*: Moreover, there can be found a parallel expression in the same chapter: *fa-lammā waliya 'Uthmān* ("when 'Uthmān took up his reign") (al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, 152, 19).

40. For the inscription of Soloi cf. the edition of Papageorgiou, "Σύγχρονη πηγή", 167–175, and the discussion by Kyrris, "Cyprus", 637, n. 34, 641. I do not share the opinion of some scholars concerning the historicity of the numerical data given by the inscription, which speaks of 120.000 and 50.000 captives on the first and second raid respectively. The transport of such a mass of people from Cyprus to Syria would have been an

for many aspects of historical research, in the present case these texts do not add further material suitable for solving the source critical problems of the Arabic historiographical tradition. Much more illuminating in this respect is a text of Syriac historiography which represents by far the most detailed report of the two Arabic raids against Cyprus and has come down to us in several versions. Its fullest form is preserved in the anonymous Syriac *Chronicon ad annum 1234* which probably took it in unaltered form from the chronicle of the great Syriac historian and Jacobite patriarch Dionysios of Tell Maḥrē (d. 845) written in the first half of the 9th century.[41] The earlier stages of this tradition can be traced back to a lost Syriac source of the middle of the 8th century, which can be identified with the oriental source of Theophanes Confessor, so that through an intermediate step a

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unsurmountable logistical problem for the Arab warriors in the middle of the 7th century. Moreover, even the Islamic source Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (ed. Khān, II 120, 2–3) speaks only of "more than 8.000" captives, a figure probably also exaggerated but much more reliable than the fantastic data of the Soloi inscription. It must not be forgotten that this source, although nearly contemporary with the events, does not intend to give an historical account, but rather aims at an impressive description of the successful reerection of buildings by the bishop of Soloi after the devastating raids and an earthquake. The main motif of the prooimion of the text (God punishs people for their sins) is a common feature of early medieval literature and emerges in the context of the Cyprus campaigns both in the Arabic (aṭ-Ṭabarī II, ed. de Goeje, 2826, 16–2827, 5; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, ed. Khan, II 120, 7–15) as well as in the Syriac tradition (Chronicon ad a. 1234, cap. CXXXI, ed. Chabot, I 270, 1–16 = trad. Chabot, I 210, 34–211, 10) of the 8th and 9th century. Therefore the degree of reliability of the inscription should not be conceived of as higher then that of later sources. As for the hagiographical texts relating to the Cyprus campaigns cf. Kyrris, "Cyprus", 637–638, n. 34, 640–649, and Chrysos, "Μοναχισμός", passim.

41. Edition and translation: I.-B. Chabot, *Chronicon ad A. C. 1234 pertinens*, CSCO 81 = Script. Syr. 36, Louvain 1920, 268, 3–272, 29 (Syriac text); CSCO 109 = Script. Syr. 56, Louvain 1965, 209, 19–212, 36 (Latin translation). Another English translation was published by A. Palmer, The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles, Liverpool 1993, Text No. 13: Dionysius reconstituted, 173–177. The English translation is annotated, but it does not surpass the older Latin translation which is closer to the original text. The other Syriac versions, which represent only an abridged form of the same text, are contained in the chronicles of Michael Syrus (ed. et trans. J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche 1166–1199*, 2, Paris 1901, XI 10: 441–442 [translation]; 4, Paris 1910, 429b, 37–430, 18 [Syriac text]), and Bar Hebraeus (ed. P. Bedjan, *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Syriacum*, Paris 1890, 105; trans. E. A. W. Budge, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus Gregory Abû' l-Faraj 1225–1286*, 1. English translation, London 1932 [reprint London 1976], 98).

small excerpt of the text is also transmitted by the Byzantine tradition.[42] Because of its detailed description of the Arab warriors' behaviour during their raids on the island, this account can be considered as the link which bridges the gap between al-Wāqidī and al-Walīd b. Muslim.

As for the intentions of the Arabic leaders during their first campaign against Cyprus, the following passage of the Syriac Chronicon is of special interest: "For he wanted to use clemency so that the lords of the island would accept a guarantee [of safety] and he would subject them, and he did not want to destroy the country by fighting, anger and devastation ... then he said to his comrades: Let us stay here, until we see if the people of Cyprus will come to us and accept a guarantee [of safety] for their lives, so that the country and the inhabitants will not be destroyed. When he waited one day and another and he saw that there was nobody who would sue for peace and beg for the island so that it would not be destroyed, he was deeply afflicted by the ruin of the miserable people. But those who came from Egypt approached him and blamed and insulted him with words hostile and full of fervour, because he had delayed and held them back from raiding the island. Thus he succumbed to the abuses of those Alexandrians and could no longer resist their force and he gave them the order to leave [the ships] immediately and to invade the island".[43]

According to this report, Mu'āwiya obviously aimed at the peaceful submission of the island, just as the Arab leaders were used to do in many parts of the former Byzantine provinces.[44] He decided to concede a grace of

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42. Ed. C. de Boor, *Theophanis Chronographia*, 1, Leipzig 1883 (reprint Hildesheim - New York 1980), 343, 30–344, 2. Translation: C. Mango – R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813*, Oxford 1997, 478–479. For the still unsolved problem of Theophanes and his oriental source, which is beyond the scope of the present study, cf. the introduction of the translation, p. lxxxii-lxxxvii, and the review of W. Brandes in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 91 (1998) 549–561.

43. *Chron. ad a. 1234*, cap. CXXI, ed. Chabot, i 269, 1–12 = trans. Chabot, 210, 2–15: *ṣḇā gēr d-ḇa-mraḥḥmānūṯā neṯḥaššaḥ d-ḵaḏ šāqlīn melṯā mārēh d-gāzarṯā nša'beḏ-ennôn w-lā ḏ-ḇa-qrāḇā wa-ḇ-rūgzā wa-ḇ-ḥarbā nḥabblīw(hy) l-aṯrā ... kaḏ emar l-ḥaḇraw(hy) da-nḵattar hārkā 'aḏ ḥāzēnan en nāpqīn bnay Qūprūs lwāṯan w-šāqlīn melṯā l-ḥayayhôn w-lā meṯḥabbal aṯrā w-'āmôraw(hy) w-ḵaḏ yawmā wa-ṯrēn kattar wa-ḥzā ḏ-lā īṯ-wā ḏ-ḇā'ē šaynā aw da-mpīs 'al gāzarṯā ḏ-lā meṯḥabbal(y) ṭabb eṯmarmar aḇdānhôn d-ḏāwyē āp w-hānôn d-eṯaw men Meṣrīn eṯqarraḇ(w) lwāṯēh kaḏ 'āḏlīn wa-mḥassdīn lēh b-mellē saqūḇlāyāṯā wa-ḏ-mālyān ḥamṯā meṭṭol hāy d-ṯahhī wa-ḵlā-ennôn men ma'altā ḏ-lāh l-gāzarṯā w-men hārkā kaḏ ezdḵī men 'eḏlāyē ḏ-hāllēn Aleḵsandrāyē w-lā eṯmṣī ḏa-n'azzē lūqḇal ḥēphôn pqaḏ l-hôn d-men šelyā nšūrūn w-ne'lūn l-gāzarṯā.*

44. Cf. the discussion below of these phenomena during the early Islamic conquests.

several days to the inhabitants, in which they could sue for peace and declare their submission, in order to avoid an attack by the Arabic military forces. Muʿāwiya's opinion, however, was opposed by the leaders of the Egyptian contingent of the fleet[45] who preferred the immediate commencement of hostilities and the conquest of the island by force. According to the Syriac source the Egyptians put Muʿāwiya under considerable pressure in order to achieve their ends, and it seems that at last he consented against his own will. The reason for this internal conflict between the Arab warriors may be found in the fact that according to the common law of the early Islamic community the status of land conquered by force was much worse for the subjugated people than that of land subdued by covenant, so that the inhabitants were allowed to be enslaved and their property was considered as *fay'*, i.e. booty and common property of the Islamic community. Although these ideas took their final juridical shape much later than the middle of the 7th century, it seems quite clear that similar considerations must have caused the Egyptian leaders to oppose to Muʿāwiya's plan of the peaceful subjugation of the island.[46] The subsequent pillage of the island is described by the author of the Syriac text in a very impressive way, giving an account of Muʿāwiya's entry into the capital Constantia (*Qūsṭanṭīnā*) and the palace of the archbishop, where a large amount of booty was gathered.[47]

Another very illuminating passage in the Syriac chronicle concerning the behaviour of the Arabs during their raids on Cyprus can be found in the report of the second campaign of 653, which according to this source was led by a certain Abū l-Aʿwar. Those inhabitants who could not manage to leave the island by ship gathered in the town *Lapāṭūs*, which is usually identified with the city of Paphos, where they tried to resist the assaults of the Arabs, until they decided that their fight was in vain: "When the inhabitants saw that there was no way out and that they had no hope for help, they petitioned the leader of the troops and demanded from him to give them his oath for the safety of their lives. Readily and with all his clemency he accepted their petition and sent word to them and said: The gold and silver

45. The leader of the Egyptians according to aṭ-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, II 2826, 15, was the governor of Egypt ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ.

46. For the distinction between land conquered by force and conquered by covenant cf. A. Noth "Zum Verhältnis von Kalifaler Zentralgewalt und Provinzen in umayyadischer Zeit: Die Ṣulḥ-ʿAnwa-Traditionen für Ägypten und den Iraq", *Welt des Islams* 14 (1973) 150–162.

47. *Chronicon ad a. 1234*, cap. CXXXI, ed. Chabot, I 269, 12–271, 3 = trans. Chabot, 210, 15–211, 26.

and the other assets which are in the city are mine. To you I give guarantee and a valid confirmation that those of you who want to go to the empire of the Romans may go and those who want to stay may stay without being killed or enslaved".[48]

Thus Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē asserts that during the second raid on the island a treaty was actually concluded between the defenders of the besieged city of Paphos and the Arabs which provided a guarantee of safety for the lives of the inhabitants and free option for them either to depart for other regions of the Byzantine Empire or to stay as free men on the island. In return all gold, silver and other assets gathered in the city had to be given to the conquerors.

By virtue of the main facts given by the Syriac chronicle it can be assumed that the tactics followed by the leaders of the campaigns against Cyprus were in full conformity with the conduct of war of the Arab troops during their campaigns in the other Byzantine provinces, and therefore this description of the events to a large extent may be considered authentic. Starting from the first raids against Byzantine garrisons in the province of Palaestina III in the end of 633 or the beginning of 634, a clear tendency of the Arab leaders can be observed, that being to prefer to come to terms with the local population or the Byzantine troops rather than to open hostilities against them. By the payment of tribute the people of a certain city or region recognized the supremacy of their new rulers, who gave them in return a guarantee of safety for their lives and their assets. These treaties, which are designated in the Arabic sources usually with the terms *amān* ("safety") or *ṣulḥ* ("reconciliation"), correspond to the readiness of the local population to change the Byzantine with Arabo-Islamic sovereignty and ensure supplies, as well as the fast advancement of the Arab troops in hostile territory.[49]

48. *Chronicon ad a. 1234*, cap. CXXXII, ed. Chabot, I 272, 16–26 = trans. Chabot, 212, 25–33: *wa-ḥzaw ʿāmôrēh d-pūrsā ḏ-meddem aw saḇrā ḏ-ʿuḏrānā layt l-hôn šel(w) menēh d-rēš ḥaylā kaḏ mpīsīn w-ṯābʿīn menēh d-nettel l-hôn yamīnā l-purqānā ḏ-ḥayayhôn hū ḏēn mṭayyḇāʾīṯ wa-ḇ-ḵullāh mraḥḥmānūṯā ettpīs l-ḇāʿūṯhôn wa-šlaḥ l-hôn kaḏ āmar d-ḏahḇā w-sēmā w-marhāṭē ḏ-meštaḵḥīn kēṯ ba-mḏīttā dīl(y) nehwôn, l-ḵôn dēn yāheḇ-nā melṯā wa-qyāmā šarrīrā ḏ-aylēn d-ṣāḇēn menḵôn d-nēzzūn l-ḇēṯ Rômāyē nēzzūn w-aylēn d-ṣāḇēn da-nḵattrūn b-ḥayē ḏ-lā šeḇyā nḵattrūn.*

49. For this topic cf. for example the comprehensive survey by A. Noth, "Früher Islam", in U. Haarmann (ed.), *Geschichte der arabischen Welt*, München 1994, 58-73, and idem, "Die literarisch überlieferten Verträge der Eroberungszeit als historische Quellen für die Behandlung der unterworfenen Nicht-Muslime durch ihre neuen muslimischen Oberherrn", in *Studien zum Minderheitenproblem im Islam*, 1, Bonn 1973, 282–314.

The sources for the Arab conquests provide us with many accounts concerning negotiations for the conclusion of peace treaties between the two belligerent parties. Usually the events are described in the form of an established procedure, during which the authorized representative of a city addresses his demand for a peace treaty to the leader of the Arab troops. In other cases a representative of the Muslim warriors makes an offer to the Byzantine dignitaries which usually consists of three parts: conversion to Islam, payment of tribute or decision in a battle.[50] Sometimes the sources cite a text of a concluded peace treaty which is usually a later version of the original modified by various additions and alterations.[51]

In those cases where a sequence of several campaigns against a city or a region can be discerned, so that a number of different treaties with the local population is to be supposed, the reconstruction of what actually was agreed upon in each covenant becomes especially difficult. This phenomenon can be observed in some regions of Syria where the Arabic conquest ensued from a sequence of attacks and counter-attacks so that the Arabs had to give up formerly seized places and to conquer them again in a later stage of their conquest movement. The city of Damascus, for example, surrendered to the Arabs for the first time in the summer of 635 and was definitively conquered no earlier than in the winter of 636–637 after the decisive battle on the river al-Yarmūk.[52] Another example is the city of Edessa in Central Syria, which sustained three or four assaults by Arab troops and each time came to different terms with the Muslim leaders.[53] As can be seen in the accounts of the extant sources, the Arab chroniclers of the 8th and 9th centuries were no longer able to discern the different raids and the covenants concluded in each case, so that they gathered and summarized all their available material concerning the capitulation of a city and the terms on which it surrendered

50. For the topos "Summons to Islam" in Futūḥ literature cf. Noth, *Historical Tradition*, 146–167.

51. These texts scattered in the chronicles for the early Islamic period can be found collected in M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'at al-wathā'iq as-siyāsīya li-l-'ahd an-nabawī wa-l-khilāfa ar-rāshida*,[4] Beirut 1403/1983; W. al-Qāḍī, "Madkhal ilā dirāsat 'uhūd aṣ-ṣulḥ al-islāmīya zaman al-futūḥ" in M. 'A. al-Bakhīt - I. 'Abbās (eds.), *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām During the Early Islamic Period up to 40 A.H./640 A.D.*, 2, Ammān 1987, 193–269. For the treaties concluded with Byzantine dignitaries cf. Beihammer, *Nachrichten*, passim, with German summary and commentary.

52. Cf. Beihammer, *Nachrichten*, 105–114 (No. 89) and 138 (No. 110).

53. Cf. Beihammer, *Nachrichten*, 95 (No. 74): January 635, 105 (No. 88): August–September 635, 120 (No. 93): late autumn 635, 142–147 (No. 114): January 637.

around a single event which in fact is only one – sometimes the decisive one – in a whole sequence of military actions. Thus the events in the course of the historical tradition often appear altered and falsified, and it is a difficult and very often impossible task of modern scholarship to disentangle this net of falsely combined details and reports.

Something similar happened in the case of the Arabic historical tradition on the raids against Cyprus: The vague memory of a covenant between the Arab raiders and the local population in the form of a guarantee of safety, just as it is described by Dionysios of Tell Maḥrē (at the first campaign a mere desire of Mu'āwiya which failed because of the resistance of the Egyptian leaders, at the second campaign an actual peace treaty between the Arabs and the besieged people of Paphos), caused al-Wāqidī and his authorities to place all the available reports on the peace treaty of Cyprus in the framework of the campaign of 649. In order to state the reason for the second campaign of the year 653, the idea of a breach of the treaty by the Cypriots was formed. Although we might find a historical basis of this statement in the report of Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē, who tells us that between the first and the second raid a contingent of Byzantine troops was stationed on the island,[54] no source confirms the existence of a treaty from 649 or the breach of it before 653. Moreover, the second main authority of the Arabs, al-Walīd b. Muslim, clearly states that a definitive and eternal treaty with the Cypriots was not actualised before the beginning of Mu'āwiya's reign as caliph; and the passage of aṭ-Ṭabarī, which reports the clauses of the treaty of Cyprus with nearly the same terms as al-Wāqidī, but refers to al-Walid b. Muslim and other mainly Syrian authorities,[55] does not reveal any relation to the campaign of 649. The idea of an *eternal* peace (*ṣulḥ dā'im*)[56] of course suggests the existence of previous covenants of temporary validity, otherwise this expression would not have any meaning in this context. Thus the statement of al-Walīd b. Muslim fits very well the data given by Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē, whose guarantee of safety for Paphos in 653 can be conceived of as the former step of contractual agreement. Therefore al-Wāqidī's breach of treaty can be considered a pseudo-causal link between the first and the second raid.

Besides the fact that al-Walīd and his authorities report the clauses of the treaty of Cyprus without relating it to the campaign of 649, clear indications

54. Cf. *Chronicon ad a. 1234*, cap. CXXXII, ed. Chabot, 271, 11–12 = trans. Chabot 211, 32–34.

55. Cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii 2826, 5–13.

56. Cf. al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, 154, 14.

in the report of al-Wāqidī himself hint at the fact that the recorded clauses were placed in the context of the campaign of 649 at a later stage of the historical tradition but have no actual connection with this campaign or with the raid of 653.

The text cited by al-Balādhurī runs as follows: "So he (the *urkūn* of the island) concluded peace with them (the Arabs) and agreed upon 7.200 *dīnār* (an anachronistic use of the term!), which they (the Cypriots) would have to pay every year and the Romans concluded peace with them (the object must be the Cypriots!) on the same terms, so that they had to pay two tributes and they (the Romans) stipulated that the Muslims would not disturb them (the Cypriots) in the fulfilling of the peace terms against the Romans".[57]

Thus in the above cited passage the Byzantines appear as a third party taking part besides the Arabs in the negotiations and stipulating terms so that the Cypriots become a mere object of the agreements. This would make absolutely no sense in the framework of the raids of 649 and 653, where no Byzantine military force or official representative of Byzantine administration existed on the island which would be able to impose terms on the successful Arab invaders. As can be seen from the Syriac source, for the campaign of 649 no Byzantine garrison is mentioned on Cyprus and the forces stationed on the island before 653 were so weak that they preferred to flee with their ships rather than to oppose the Arab raiders.[58] Also, in other cases where the sources of the Arab conquests refer to "Romans" in the context of peace treaties and covenants, usually a local garrison of imperial troops or offical representatives of Byzantine administration or a particular "Roman" group of the local population is meant, which is normally requested to leave the place,[59] but nowhere do they appear as a stipulating party. As for the above cited account of al-Wāqidī, the Romans are described as representatives of the central power, i. e. of the Byzantine court in Constantinople, who are able to preserve their interests in Cyprus, to impose terms in the concluded peace treaty with the Arabs and to collect

57. Cf. al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, 153, 9–11: *fa-ṣālaḥahum 'alā sab'ati ālāfin wa-mi'atay dīnārin yu'addūnahā fī kulli 'āmin wa-ṣālaḥahumu r-Rūmu 'alā mithli dhālika fa-hum yu'addūna kharjayni wa-shtaraṭū an lā yamna'ahumu l-muslimūna adā'a ṣ-ṣulḥi ilā r-Rūmi.*

58. Cf. *Chronicon ad a. 1234*, cap. CXXXII, ed. Chabot, 271, 20–25 = trans. Chabot, 212, 2–7.

59. Cf. for example Beihammer, *Nachrichten*, 177 (No. 154, aṭ-Ṭabarī f): treaty of Jerusalem; 211 (No. 183, Ibn 'Abdalḥakam a): treaty of Babylon/Egypt.

taxes from the population of Cyprus. Thus the image given is by no means in conformity with the situation of 649 or 653, but would fit perfectly a later period where a regular exchange of embassies between the empire and the caliphate in Damascus had already been established and both sides were negotiating with each other on an equal footing. Such is the case for the first time in about 657–658, when Mu'āwiya, because of his internal conflict with the caliph 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, was compelled to pay tribute to the empire in order to avoid war with the imperial troops.[60] Other diplomatic contacts between the emperor and Mu'āwiya are recorded by the sources in the years 662, 663, 667–668, 677–678.[61]

To sum up, the reexamination of the Arabic and Syriac historiography concerning the first Arab raids against Cyprus leads us to the following conclusions:

1. The Arabic tradition can be traced back to a core of material mainly collected by the authorities al-Walīd b. Muslim (second half of the 8th century) and al-Wāqidī (end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century) which is partly based on authentic information of the 7th century, but includes, nevertheless, legendary narratives, misinterpretations of facts and pseudo-causal links of later origin.

2. The most important source which allows us to discern the failings of the Arab authorities and gives a more complete picture of the actual events is the Syriac text of Dionysios of Tell Maḥrē from the first half of the 9th century, consisting of material from the middle of the 8th century.

3. These texts reflect two different positions regarding the ends of the spring 649 campaign, namely a peaceful subjugation of the inhabitants in

60. Cf. A. Kaplony, *Konstantinopel und Damaskus. Gesandtschaften und Verträge zwischen Kaisern und Kalifen 639–750* (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 208), Berlin 1996, 37–46 (No. A4); I do not share Kaplony's opinion on the historicity of an embassy between 641 and 656 (ibid. 19–21 [No. A1]); in about 649–650 the first peace treaty between the emperor Constans II and Mu'āwiya as semi-independent governor of Syria was concluded (*ibid.* 23–32 [No. A2]) by a Byzantine embassy to Damascus. Another embassy of the emperor (ibid. 33–36 [No. A3]) may have preceded the treaty of 657–658, but the chronological data of the sources are quite unclear. In my opinion, a regular exchange of embassies can be considered as established with the negotiations of 657–658, when for the first time Arab representatives sent an embassy to the emperor and begged him for peace. Cf. also Beihammer, *Nachrichten*, lxxvii–lxxviii, 259–260 (No. 214), 291–293 (No. 254), 301–303 (No. 266).

61. Cf. Kaplony, *Konstantinopel*, 47–49 (No. A5), 51–75 (No. A6), 77–97 (No. A7–A8), and Beihammer, *Nachrichten*, 313–315 (No. 273), 315–316 (No. 274), 321–322 (No. 279), 330–332 (No. 284).

return for a guarantee of safety for their lives and possessions, or a violent raid on the island which renders the inhabitants and their assets the booty of the Muslim community (*fay'*). Patterns can be found for both attitudes in the previous conquests in Syria and other former Byzantine provinces. Dionysius' account, according to which these positions resulted in a dissension between the commander Mu'āwiya and the leaders of the Egyptian contingent of the fleet until the opinion of the second prevailed, is quite convincing.

4. The second campaign of 653 ended with the conclusion of a peace treaty between the Arab leader and the inhabitants of Paphos, which consolidated the personal freedom of the local population. The memory of this covenant is clearly preserved in the account of Dionysius, but is only indirectly reflected and to a large extent misinterpretated in the Arabic historical tradition.

5. All accounts which show characteristics of an Arabic-Byzantine condominium on the island or a kind of mutual neutralization belong to a later stage of development during the caliphate of Mu'āwiya (between 661 and 680) and presuppose the establishment of an Arab garrison on the island as well as the existence of regular diplomatic contacts between Constantinople and Damascus.

6. The covenant between the Arab raiders and the inhabitants of Cyprus in the form of a guarantee of safety, which might have been intended in 649 and was finally actualized in 653, in its nature as well as in its content has absolutely nothing to do with the later bilateral treaty about divided taxes and mutual rights of sovereignty for the population of Cyprus, which must have been concluded between the representatives of the caliph and the emperor and rendered the inhabitants of Cyprus a mere contractual object.

C. Edmund Bosworth

WĀSIṬ: THE RISE AND DISAPPEARANCE OF A GREAT ISLAMIC CITY

I

The Islamic garrison town and then city of Wāsiṭ on what was at that time the right bank of the lower Tigris and in what is now central Iraq, played an outstanding role in the history of the early Arab caliphate as the creation of the great Umayyad governor of Iraq and the East, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, and from its foundation was the capital of the province of Iraq for some thirty years, from the caliphate of Marwān I b. al-Ḥakam till that of Yazīd II b. 'Abd al-Malik. Several sources explain that al-Hajjāj chose the name Wāsiṭ because it was at approximately at the mid-point (*wāsiṭ*) between the two military camps, *amṣār*, of al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa and the cities of al-Madā'in or Ctesiphon and al-Ahwāz in Khūzistān, but some sources say that the name stemmed from an existing settlement on the Tigris called Wāsiṭ al-Qaṣab ("Wāsiṭ among the Reeds"). Al-Sām'ānī in fact mentions four other Wāsiṭs, from al-Raqqa to Balkh, and Yāqūt lists further ones with this same name as far away as Yemen and al-Andalus.[1] However, it was al-Ḥajjāj's new city in central Iraq which achieved the greatest fame in Islamic history, serving as it did to emphasise the might and splendour of the Umayyad dynasty, and in its architectural form was to serve as a

1. Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, ed. M. 'Abd al-Mu'īd Khān et al., Hyderabad 1382-1402/1962-1982, xiii, 258-260; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, Beirut 1374-1376/1955-1957, v, 347, 353.

precursor to the foundation of Baghdād half a century or so later by the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr.

Given the importance of Wāsiṭ, its eventual total disappearance - gradual, rather than as the result of some sudden natural cataclysm or its destruction by some military conqueror of the stamp of the Mongol Hülegü or the Turco-Mongol Tīmūr - and the consequent uncertainty over its very site, is remarkable, although of course far from unparalleled in Islamic history.

Maximilian Streck, who in his work on the topography and hydrography of Mesopotamia, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien nach den arabischen Geographen*, did much to elucidate problems caused by the shifting channels of the Euphrates and Tigris and the network of irrigation canals connecting them, noted that locating Wāsiṭ on the lower course of the Tigris was one of the acutest problems in the historical geography of mediaeval Islamic Mesopotamia. He adduced the accounts of Western travellers in the middle Tigris region of what was then Ottoman Iraq, such as the English army officers Ormsby and Elliott (1831) and the French traveller, the Comte Ayman de Liedekerke-Beaufort (1913-1914), and those authorities who reproduced their material, such as Wellsted, Fraser and Virolleaud, supplementing these by what were then recent cartographic indications and the surface finds of building fragments, pottery, glassware, etc. Streck was thus able in the early years of the 20th century to make a well-informed judgement on the location of mediaeval Wāsiṭ.[2] His judgement was confirmed by the series of excavations carried out at the putative site by the Iraq Department of Antiquities 1936-1942, latterly under the direction of Fu'ād Safar.[3] Thus the reports of the Western travellers mentioned above, not fully assured because of the disappearance of both Wāsiṭ and Kaskar (see below, p. xx-xx) and because of changes in the course of the Tigris, can now be confirmed and the site definitively fixed as being in lat. 32° 11′ N. and long. 46° 18′ E. and as such marked on modern maps, such as that in *The Times Atlas*, at a ruinous site at present called al-Manāra (from the ruins of a 7th/13th century structure comprising a

2. M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, 2, Leiden 1901, 318-338; *idem*, "Wāsiṭ", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*[1], iv, Leiden 1936, 1128-1132, at 1130-1132.

3. K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford 1969, 132-133; F. Safar, *Wāsiṭ. The Sixth Season's Excavations*, Cairo 1945; *idem*, *Wāsiṭ*, Baghdād 1952 (in Arabic).

monumental entrance portico flanked by two minarets). The site is thus about 15 miles to the east-north-east of the modern town of al-Ḥayy, on the dry bed of the Dujayla ("Little Tigris"), the main course of the mediaeval Islamic Tigris.[4]

II

At all events, the first site of what became al-Ḥajjāj's creation lay on the right or west bank of the Tigris in what had been the pre-Islamic province of Kaskar, known as an administrative district of the Persian empire from the middle Sāsānid period; from a reference to it in the Babylonian Talmud, it was possibly what had been previously the *kūra* of Shādh Sābūr, a town allegedly founded by the emperor Shābūr I. The town of Kaskar itself was a centre for Nestorian Christianity and the seat of an important bishopric, but Wāsiṭ was to face it as a purely Islamic creation.[5] The new military encampment and town lay on a plain to the north of the Baṭīḥa or marshlands on saline land liable to flooding and with the arid desert and steppe zone of Kaskar to its east. Its distance away from the marshes, with their heat, humidity, insects, malaria and other diseases, perhaps justified the early Islamic geographers' descriptions of the site of Wāsiṭ as healthy, although these geographers also describe the weather at Wāsiṭ as changeable and capricious (*munqalib*), it being a point where scorching winds came up from the Persian Gulf and met tempering ones from the north.[6] Originally, the new settlement of Wāsiṭ faced the town of Kaskar on the opposite bank; al-Ḥajjāj linked the two places with a bridge of boats across the river and small harbours for loading and unloading goods grew up at each end of the bridge. Gradually, Wāsiṭ

4. Ṣāliḥ al-'Alī, "Minṭaqat Wāsiṭ", *Sumer* 26 (1970) 237-262 and 27 (1971) 153-183; M. Sakly, "Wāsiṭ", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*[2], xi, Leiden 2002, 165-169, at 165-165, with map at 167 showing the hydrographic system of Lower Iraq and the present site of the ruins of Wāsiṭ.

5. In addition to the references on Kaskar in M. Streck - J. Lassner, "Kaskar", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*[2], iv, Leiden 1978, 724-725, see on it J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'ī* (Kaiserlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N. F. iii/2), Berlin 1901, 21; J.-M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, iii, Beirut 1968, 151-187; M. G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, Princeton 1984, 155-159.

6. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate. Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of Timur*, Cambridge 1905, 26-29, 39-40.

came to eclipse Kaskar and became a city spanning both sides of the Tigris, with Kaskar disappearing as a separate entity.

The date for Wāsiṭ's foundation is variously given in the Arabic sources because of disparate traditions concerning this. Oft-quoted dates for its construction are 83-84/702-703; thus al-Ṭabarī places its inauguration in 83/702.[7] Al-Ḥajjāj was certainly residing there by 84/703, although the completion of the *miṣr* may well have taken longer, and Yāqūt says that its building extended to the year 86/705.[8] However, the local historian of Wāsiṭ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aslam b. Sahl al-Wāsiṭī, called Bahshal (d. 280/893-894 or 292/905),[9] states, in the brief historical prologue to his book (which is, in fact, largely devoted to the scholars of Wāsiṭ), earlier dates for the city's construction, 75-78/694-697, i.e. before the rebellion of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash'ath which most historians say was the stimulus for al-Ḥajjāj's decision to build a capital there.[10] Yet the accounts of other historians stress that al-Ḥajjāj wished to establish a permanent military camp. a *miṣr*, half-way between the existing camps at al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa, and to garrison it with loyal Syrian troops brought thither in order to overawe the turbulent Arab soldiers of the existing Iraqi *amṣār*, many of whom had followed Ibn al-Ash'ath in his almost-successful revolt. Also, being at the northern end of the great swamplands of Lower Iraq, it was well placed to watch over this rather inaccessible region. Amongst various foundation legends, the familiar topos of a Christian monk of the district directing al-Ḥajjāj to the site of what would be a future great city, is related in the sources.[11]

The city which al-Ḥajjāj built - reportedly at a cost of 43 million dirhams - was essentially a military and administrative centre. It became the symbol par excellence of Umayyad power in the East, a royal city in a way which Damascus never became for the dynasty, a fact which has

7. *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa 'l-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.*, *Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar ... at-Tabari*, Leiden 1879-1901, ii, 1125-1126, Eng. tr. M. Hinds, *The Zenith of the Marwānid House*, Albany 1990, 70-71.

8. *Op. cit.*, v, 348.

9. See on him W. Hoenerbach, "Über einige arabische Handschriften in Bagdad und Tetuan", *Oriens* 8 (1955) 103-105; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*², Leiden 1968, 166-167, 484; F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 1: *Qur'ānwissenschaften - Ḥadiṯ - Geschichte - Fiqh - Dogmatik - Mystik bis ca. 430 H.*, Leiden 1967, 349.

10. *Ta'rīkh Wāsiṭ*, ed. G. 'Awwād, Baghdad 1387/1967, 43.

11. See, e.g., al-Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.*

been noted by Oleg Grabar (see below). The governor's palace was, according to Yāqūt,[12] built on a plan 400 *dhirā's* or cubits square, with four gates and a lofty green dome surmounting it; according to Ibn Rusta, the town of Fam al-Ṣilḥ, 48 km/30 miles away, could be seen from its top.[13] The whole building thus acquired the name of al-Qubba al-Khaḍrā'. Al-Ḥajjāj's congregational mosque, known after him, was also impressive, with a plan 200 cubits square according to Yāqūt; the corresponding mosque on the eastern bank was, in early 'Abbasid times, named after the 'Abbasids' Turkish commander Mūsā b. Bughā, according to Ibn Rusta. These impressive buildings may well, as Herzfeld suggested, have provided the model for al-Manṣūr's palace, also called al-Qubba al-Khaḍrā', and its adjoining Great Mosque, in the Round City of Baghdād, especially as al-Ṭabarī reports that al-Manṣūr carried off five iron doors from Wāsiṭ - which al-Ḥajjāj had himself taken from a pre-existing town, Zandaward, and other places - for use in his Round City and palace, perhaps with the idea, as Grabar has suggested, of placing his own new capital in some sort of apotropaic succession to Wāsiṭ.[14] It is also noteworthy that, when Hishām came to lay out his residential and administrative capital at al-Ruṣāfa, he built a green dome over his audience hall. The modern excavations at the site of Wāsiṭ have not only pinpointed the site of al-Ḥajjāj's Great Mosque (on which three later mosques were superimposed) but have also revealed something of the splendours of the adjacent palace's brick construction.

Al-Ḥajjāj's palace was clearly a complete *dār al-imāra* or governmental and military headquarters with all the functions which that entailed; according to al-Dīnawarī, when the 'Abbasids entered Wāsiṭ at the time of the Revolution in 32/750, they found in the treasuries and storehouses there three million dirhams, many weapons, plus a whole year's supply of food for 30,000 men and fodder for 30,000 riding beasts.[15] There was also a prison called *Dīmās* (apparently from Greek *dēmosion*, "jail"), to which, the sources allege with obvious exagge-

12. *Mu'jam al-buldān*, v, 349-350.

13. *Kitāb al-A'lāq al-nafīsa*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1892, 187, Fr. tr. G. Wiet, *Les atours précieux*, Cairo 1955, 216.

14. al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, iii, 321, Eng. tr. H. Kennedy, *Al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī*, Albany 1990, 5; Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, v, 349; O. Grabar, "Al-Mushatta, Baghdād, and Wāsiṭ", in J. Kritzeck - R. B. Winder (eds.), *The World of Islam. Studies in Honor of Philip K. Hitti*, London 1959, 105.

ration, al-Ḥajjāj consigned tens of thousands of offenders, and a cemetery outside the walls and ditches which protected the city on its landward sides. The local historian Bahshal gives considerable detail on the layout of the commercial and artisanal quarters of the city.[16] Al-Ḥajjāj allotted to each group of craftmen or traders a special area, from which they were not to move, with its own money-changer and banker (*ṣarrāf*). He placed food vendors, cloth merchants, money changers, and perfumers and druggists from the right-hand side of the market to the Gate of the Shoemakers (*darb al-kharrāzīn*); grocers, dealers in old clothes (*aṣḥāb al-saqaṭ*) and fruiterers on the south side of the market to the Gate of the Shoemakers; and shoemakers, labourers hired by the day (*al-rūzjāriyyūn*) and metal workers (*al-ṣunnā'*) from the left-hand side of the market to the Tigris. It seems that the residential areas, as opposed to the essentially military, administrative and commercial agglomeration on the west bank, were over the river at Kaskar; al-Ya'qūbī mentions that the *dahāqīn*, i.e. the local rural landowners of the Wāsiṭ region, lived at Kaskar.[17]

Wāsiṭ flourished greatly in the half-century of its eminence as the administrative capital of Iraq, the richest province of the Umayyad caliphate and, in effect, the capital of the whole eastern half of the Arab empire. Al-Ḥajjāj himself died at Wāsiṭ in 95/714 and was buried there, with his grave obliterated to prevent its desecration. At first, al-Ḥajjāj expelled the local Aramaean inhabitants (*al-Nabaṭ*), and would only allow Arabs, preferably Syrians, to settle in his *miṣr*, but later, he allowed the settlement from al-Baṣra of "Turks" (by which term is also probably intended the indigenous Iranians of Central Asia) originally from Bukhārā. After his death, the Nabaṭ were allowed to return, and Persians also came. Two Nestorian monasteries were then founded in the vicinity of Wāsiṭ: that of Mār Gabriel of Kashkar, still in existence at the opening of the 6th/12th century, and that of Mār Sawrīshō', also called Dayr Wāsiṭ, where the Patriarch Aba III (741-751) resided. The originally Nestorian family of the Banū Wahb, who served the 'Abbasid as secretaries and viziers in the 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries,

15. *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Āmir - Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1960, 373, cited in Morony, *Iraq*, 63.

16. *Ta'rīkh Wāsiṭ*, 44.

17. *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1892, 322, Fr. tr. G. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 166, and see Streck - Lassner, "Kaskar".

stemmed from this district.[18]

In this later Umayyad period, Wāsiṭ and Kaskar merged into one urban unit, with a mixed, cosmopolitan population. The dominating importance of Wāsiṭ in the eastern caliphate at this time is shown by the especial vitality of its mint, which struck post-reform dirhams and fulūs in great abundance. Amongst surviving Umayyad coins, the dirhams of Wāsiṭ far outnumber all the other dirhams of the eighty other Umayyad mints. Many of the coin hoards found in Sweden and on the Baltic islands contain as much as 86% of their Umayyad dirhams from the Wāsiṭ mint. The fact that Wāsiṭ was the great bastion of Umayyad military power in the East meant that military forces were frequently being despatched from it to various parts of the caliphate, with a consequent need for large quantities of coinage for paying out as *'aṭā'* or stipends to the *muqātila* or warriors, so that the mint had to work at high power. Also, the fact that these troops were sent to fight on remote fronts like the Caucasus, what is now eastern Afghanistan, Transoxania and Khwaraz, would explain the wide circulation of these coins beyond the boundaries of the *Dār al-Islām* and towards eastern Europe. Minting was in fact continuous at Wāsiṭ from the year 84/703 till 132/749-750 with the exception of the years 100/718-719 and 102/720-721. All the minting of the eastern lands of the empire was concentrated by al-Ḥajjāj on Wāsiṭ between 84/703 and 89/708, the aftermath of the great rebellion of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash'ath, when the governor aimed at holding a monopoly of money supply, an advantage at times of unrest and revolt, although this restriction of the money supply must have caused shortages of coin and have adversely affected internal trade and commerce. In 90/709 al-Ḥajjāj reversed his policy of centralisation and mints were opened in the Persian lands as far east as Khurāsān and Sīstān, though Wāsiṭ remained the main mint for Iraq. A. D. De Shazo and M. L. Bates have suggested, in a study of the patterns of the annulets or small circles placed between the outer and inner marginal circles on Umayyad coins from Iraq, that the Wāsiṭ mint did not operate in the blank years 100 and 102 because new governors of Iraq opened mints in their respective centres of al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra for the year 100 and in al-Kūfa alone for 102; it was 'Umar b. Hubayra who re-activated the Wāsiṭ mint in 103/721-722.[19]

18. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, 170-172; C. E. Bosworth, "Wahb, Banū", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², xi, Leiden 2002, 33-34.

The Wāsiṭ mint continued sporadiacally to operate and to issue dīnārs, dirhams and fulūs in 'Abbasid times, though often with long intervals of quiescence, and the extant specimens from the two centuries after 132/750 are far fewer than those from the later Umayyad period. With the triumph of the 'Abbasid Revolution, the mint was closed down and those of al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra re-opened, to be followed some years later by those of Madīnat al-Salām/Baghdād and al-Muḥammadiyya/ Rayy. But in the aftermath of the civil war between the two sons of Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, the mint was re-opened in the years 200/815 and 203/818 for dirhams bearing the names of al-Ma'mūn's partisan al-Ḥasan b. Sahl and/or his brother, the vizier Dhu l'Riyāsatayn al-Faḍl b. Sahl, suggesting that the mint was re-activated for making payments to the troops of the caliphal army commanded by al-Ḥasan. It was re-opened for a third time under al-Mu'tazz (r. 252-255/866-869) for dirhams and occasionally dīnārs and its activity over the next century, under both the 'Abbasids and the first Buyids, reflected the city's prosperity at this time. But in the 360s/970s and 370s/980s minting becomes irregular and draws to its close, with Wāsiṭ now falling behind such trading centres as al-Baṣra and Ahwāz. No coins are known from the Seljuqs or later 'Abbasid caliphs. Wāsiṭ's fourth and last period of activity as a mint came under the Mongol Il-Khanids and their Turkmen successors in Iraq, the Jalāyirids. Ghazan Khan's vizier Rashīd al-Dīn reformed the coinage in 698/1298-1299 and re-opened several mints in Iraq, headed by Baghdād. Baghdād and Wāsiṭ shared the distinction of issuing large silver dīnārs valued at six dirhams each, this being the apex of the Il-Khanid monetary system, with 10,000 dīnārs forming the *tūmān*, the Il-Khanid unit of account. There were issues from a mint at Wāsiṭ up to 788/1386 or possibly as late as 812/1409, but the disorders consequent upon the Timurid invasion of Iraq brought about an end to minting activity there, the closing of what had been one of the most prolific mints ever known in the Islamic world.[20] Under the Umayyad caliph Sulaymān (r. 96-99/715-717), Wāsiṭ ceased to be the seat of the Umayyad governor in Iraq, who now transferred to Khurasan, incorporated henceforth into Iraq. 'Umar II (r. 99-101/717-720) divided this vast territory into three separate governorates, al-Kūfa, al-Baṣra and Khurasan, each with an individual *walī.* Wāsiṭ was demilitarised and its Syrian garrison troops transferred elsewhere. Wāsiṭ again became the seat of the governor of Iraq under Yazīd II (r. 101-105/720-724), when Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik and Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra were governors, but thereafter it was no longer the exclusive seat of government, which might oscillate between Wāsiṭ, al-Kufa and al-Ḥīra.

The lengthy governorship in Iraq of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī (105-120/723-737) marked an upsurge in the economy of the whole Sawād, but soon after the accession to power of the last Umayyad, Marwān II al-Ḥimār, and whilst the new caliph was preoccupied with a revolt at Ḥimṣ, Wāsiṭ was involved in the Kharijite revolt of 127-128/744-746 in al-Jazīra and Iraq led by al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk besieged the governor of Iraq, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, in Wāsiṭ, forced him to surrender and submit to him in Shawwāl 127/August 745, and went on to occupy al-Kūfa but was finally killed in battle. The city was exhausted after the involvement with the Kharijites when the new Umayyad governor Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra regained control of it in 129/746.[21]

III

At the time of the 'Abbasid Revolution, Wāsiṭ was vigorously defended by Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra after he had been defeated in battle by the 'Abbasid commanders Qaḥṭaba b. Shabib al-Ṭā'ī and his son al-Ḥasan and had fallen back on the city. The siege dragged on for eleven months, long after the final collapse of the Umayyad position in Iraq and, indeed, of the dynasty as a whole; only on the death of Marwān

19. A. D. De Shazo - M. L. Bates, "The Umayyad Governors of al-'Irāq and the Changing Annulet Patterns on their Dirhams", *Numismatic Chronicle* 14 (1974) 112, 116.

20. Ulla S. Linder Welin, "Wāsiṭ, the Mint-town", *K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-samfundets i Lind Årsberrättelse/Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 4 (1955-1956) 127-169; E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 268; R. Darley-Doran, "Wāsiṭ. 4. The mint", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², xi, Leiden 2002, 169-171.

21. al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii, 1897-1906, 1938-1940, Eng. tr. J. A. Williams, *The 'Abbāsid Revolution*, Albany 1985, 9-19, 49-51; 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī 'l-ta'rīkh*, Beirut 1385-1387/1965-1967, v, 334-37, 348-349, 354. Cf. J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall*, Calcutta 1927, 388-392; M. Sharon, *Black Banners from the East*, 2: *The Social and Military Aspects of the 'Abbāsid Revolution*, Jerusalem 1990, 124-125.

II al-Ḥimār (occurring in Dhu 'l-Qa'da 132/June 750 in Upper Egypt) being reported, and after the fall of al-Kūfa, did Ibn Hubayra in early 133/autumn 750 surrender on terms to Abū Ja'far (the later al-Manṣūr), with a guarantee of *amān*, only to be brutally killed by the latter's brother Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāḥ.[22]

Thereafter, with al-Manṣūr's foundation of Baghdād, Wāsiṭ was demilitarised and, with al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra, became only a local administrative centre for Iraq, as Kaskar had once been, all three of these former *amṣār* being eclipsed by the new foundation of Baghdād. But it still remained one of the major cities of Iraq and retained its strategic importance, commanding as it did the route down river from Baghdād to al-Baṣra and the Gulf and the east-west routes from al-Ahwāz in southeastern Persia to the Syrian Desert fringes; these enabled it to continue to play a notable role in historical events. The 'Abbasids took over Umayyad personal estates in the Wāsiṭ region, and high tax yields from the *kūra* or province of Kaskar reveal its prosperity in the later 2nd/8th century, including during the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170-193/786-809).[23]

Thus, under the 'Abbasids it played a role in the rebellions and civil warfare between the brothers al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn. Al-Ma'mūn's commander, Ṭāhir b. al-Husayn, early took control of the city, in 196/811-812, and, according to al-Ṭabarī, was able to tighten the siege of Baghdad by diverting boats into canals adjacent to the capital which he controlled and then levying heavy dues, up to 3,000 dirhams per boat, on river craft bringing food to the capital from al-Baṣra and Wāsiṭ.[24] Wāsiṭ was also a focal point in the pro-'Alid revolt of Abu 'l-Sarāyā al-Shaybānī in 199/815 and soon afterwards became the headquarters during the years 201-202/816-818 of al-Ma'mūn's minister al-Ḥasan b. Sahl after he had been expelled from Baghdād by the *Abnā'* leaders; al-Ḥasan was himself the owner of great estates at nearby Fam al-Ṣilḥ and his role as a minter of some coins at Wāsiṭ has been mentioned.[25] With the prominence of Turkish and Central Asian Iranian elements in the armies of al-Mu'taṣim and his successors, the economic and financial potential of the Wāsiṭ region continued to be important for the ruling power in Baghdād and under al-Mu'taṣim (r. 218-227/833-842) *iqṭā'*s or land grants for military commanders appear in the Kaskar region, being granted out by successive caliphs into the 4th/10th century.

Kaskar suffered from the depredations of the rebellious Zuṭṭ or Jhat settlers of the marshlands in *ca.* 219/834 and it is likely that Wāsiṭ too was affected; al-Mu'taṣim's general 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasa made Wāsiṭ his base for amphibious punitive operations against these Zuṭṭ.[26] The region of Wāsiṭ was certainly the scene of extensive campaignings later in the century, when the Saffarid Ya'qūb b. al-Layth marched westwards through Fārs and al-Ahwāz; occupied the city on 23 Jumādā II 272/24 March 874, having been temporarily halted by the opening up of breaches (*buthūq*) along the Tigris banks by the caliphal commander Masrūr al-Balkhī; and thence moved northwards to Dayr al-'Āqūl, only 50 miles/80 km to the southeast of Baghdād, for his defeat there at the hands of caliphal troops.[27] More prolonged, however, was the warfare with the Zanj or black agricultural slave rebels of Lower Iraq and al-Ahwāz. The 'Abbasid prince al-Muwaffaq, effectively regent in Baghdād for his brother al-Mu'tamid, made Wāsiṭ his base for operations against them, but could not prevent the capture and sacking of the city by the Zanj in 264/877-878, when the defending caliphal commander Kanjūr al-Bukhārī was killed and several thousand women

22. al-Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, 369, 370, 373-375; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, *Historiae*, Leiden 1883, ii, 423-424; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, iii, 61-71, tr. Williams, 138-139, 185-194; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, v, 402-404, 437-442; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. I. 'Abbas, Beirut 1385-1387/1965-1967, vi, 313-321 (from Ibn al-Athīr), Eng. tr. Baron McGuckin de Slane, *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, Paris 1842-1871, iv, 204-212. Cf. S. Moscati, "Il "tradimento" di Wāsiṭ", *Le Muséon* 64 (1951) 177-186; Sharon, *op. cit.*, 209-210.

23. R. Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 317.

24. al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, iii, 855-856, 891-892, Eng. tr. M. Fishbein, *The War between Brothers*, Albany 1992, 119, 159; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vi, 264-265, 276.

25. al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, iii, 979, 1002, 1004-1005, 1028, Eng. tr. C. E. Bosworth, *The Reunification of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate*, Albany 1987, 16-17, 47, 49-51, 81; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vi, 305-307, 321.

26. al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, iii, 1166-1168, Eng. tr. C. E. Bosworth, *Storm and Stress along the Northern Frontiers of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate*, Albany 1991, 7-9; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vi, 443-444. Cf. C. E. Bosworth, "al-Zuṭṭ", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², xi, Leiden 2002, 574-575.

27. al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, iii, 1892-1893, 1898-1899, Eng. tr. D. Waines, *The Revolt of the Zanj*, Albany 1992, 169-170, 174; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vii, 290-291; C. E. Bosworth, *The History of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz (247/861 to 949/1542-3)*, Costa Mesa - New York 1994, 158-159.

and children taken captive by the rebels. A three years' occupation by the Zanj followed, during which they may have minted coins, on the evidence of certain anomalous dirhams from the Wāsiṭ mint.[28] Not until 267/880-881 was al-Muwaffaq's son Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad (the future caliph al-Mu'taḍid) able to launch a counter-attack, defeat the Zanj, recover the city and release the captives.[29]

The region then revived and over the next decades had a major role in supplying Baghdād with foodstuffs, despite severe flooding of the Tigris in 292/904, when many of the city's monuments and buildings were damaged, and even worse ones in 310/922. It was because of the capital's dependence on supplies from the Wāsiṭ - Kaskar region that the caliph al-Rāḍī (r. 322-329/934-940) was compelled on his accession in 322/934 to appoint the governor of Wāsiṭ, Muḥammad b. Rā'iq, to be *amīr al-umarā'* or supreme military commander of the caliphal forces, thus beginning a period of ascendancy in the caliphate for the holders of this office, Ibn Rā'iq and then the Būyids.[30]

In the succeeding century, characterised by the extension of the power of the Daylamī Buyids, Wāsiṭ was likewise caught up in the military and political affairs of Lower Iraq. When the Būyids advanced on Iraq from Persia, they attempted to gain control of Wāsiṭ and attacked it in 327/939, 332/944 and 333/945, but only captured it when the Turkish governor surrendered the city to them, allowing the Būyids to go on and occupy Baghdād.[31] Just before this, Lower Iraq and the Arabian Desert fringes had been affected by the activities of the radical Shi'ite sect of the Qarāmiṭa or Carmathians and in 315-316/927-928 their leader Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī had led an expedition from Baḥrayn against the caliphate in Iraq and had penetrated as far north as al-Jazīra, en route sacking al-Kūfa and ravaging the vicinity of Wāsiṭ.[32] It is recorded that Carmathian troops were subsequently recruited by Mu'izz al-Dawla into the Buyid army and assigned *iqṭā'*s at Wāsiṭ.[33] In the later

28. Linder Welin, *op. cit.*; 136-137.

29. al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, iii, 1871-1872, 1917-1926, 1957-1992, tr. Waines, 146-148, 190-198, Eng. tr. Ph. M. Fields, *The 'Abbāsid Recovery*, Albany 1987, 21-50; A. Popovic, *La révolte des esclaves en Iraq au IIIe/IXe siècle*, Paris 1976, 116ff.

30. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, viii, 283-284. Cf. D. Sourdel, "Ibn Rā'ik", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², iii, Leiden - London 1971, 902.

31. H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (944-1055)*, Beirut - Wiesbaden 1969, 18-19.

part of the century, al-Baṣra, Lower Iraq and the Baṭīḥa were in the hands of a line of local amirs, the family of 'Imrān b. Shāhīn, who were largely independent but at times grudgingly acknowledged the suzerainty of the Buyids.[34] From 338/949 to 361/971 Wāsiṭ served as a base for Mu'izz al-Dawla and his son and successor 'Izz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār for military operations against 'Imrān. Nevertheless, the family of 'Imrān continued to control Wāsiṭ at times and in 379/989-990 Muhadhhib al-Dawla 'Alī b. Naṣr of the Banū 'Imrān repaired the irrigation canals at Wāsiṭ.[35]

The Arabic and Persian geographers of the later 9th and 10th centuries describe Wāsiṭ as having at this time a mixed Arab and Persian population, with an extensive belt of agricultural land on its western side before the desert began, with trees, date palms and cereals, and with fisheries in the river. As has been mentioned, the Wāsiṭ region was in fact a great supplier of foodstuffs for Baghdād and cargoes could be loaded at the two harbours on the Tigris at each end of the bridge of boats, which, as noted above, had been constructed when the town was first founded; the bridge of boats itself had places under which boats could sail. Not surprisingly, shipbuilding was a local industry. Of textiles produced at Wāsiṭ, its curtains (*sutūr*), kilims, trouser cords and dyed wool were famed, with the crimson dyestuff *qirmiz* much used there. When Ibn Ḥawqal was at Wāsiṭ in 358/969, he recorded that it was the centre of an administrative province separate from Baghdād and that the taxation of Wāsiṭ was leased to one Abu 'l-Faḍl (the son of the former caliph al-Rāḍī, whose name appears on the coins of Wāsiṭ)[36] for six million dirhams.[37]

Wāsiṭ had early become famed as a centre of Islamic scholarship, attested by the considerable number of scholars with the *nisba* al-Wāsiṭī, mentioned by the compilers of biographies and geographers.[38]

32. M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides*, Leiden 1886, 94ff.

33. Busse, *op. cit.*, 338.

34. See "'Imrān b. Shāhīn", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², iii, Leiden - London 1971, 1175-1176, and E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Hanover 1927, 137-138.

35. Busse, *op. cit.*, 381.

36. Linder Welin, "Wāsiṭ, the Mint-town", 163; Busse, *op. cit.*, 22 n. 1, 215.

37. al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 322, Fr. tr. G. Wiet, 166; Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-A'lāq*

In al-Maqdisī's time it was celebrated for its *faqīhs* and for its eminent Qur'ān scholars, including experts on *tajwīd* or Qur'ān recitation.[39] The mystic al-Ḥallāj had spent much of his youth at Wāsiṭ in study.[40] As well as the extant work of Bahshal al-Wāsiṭī already mentioned, which is primarily devoted to the *'ulamā'* of the city, Gūrgīs 'Awwād has in his Introduction to the edited text of Bahshal's work listed other local histories/biographical dictionaries of scholars known from mentions in the sources.[41] These include a *dhayl* or continuation to Bahshal's work by Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muhammad al-Jullābī, called Ibn al-Maghāzilī (d. 483/1090); and a *Ta'rīkh Wāsiṭ* by Abu 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Dubaythī al-Wāsiṭī (d. 637/1239).[42] Finally, there is extant in a Leiden ms. an extended chapter of the Seljuq period author 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahanī's literary anthology, the *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* (see below, p. xx, n. 54), on the literary figures from Wāsiṭ; 'Awwād states that a printed text would run to *ca.* 100 pages, in effect a monograph in its own right.

IV

During the first half of the 5th/11th century, the authority of the Buyids in Iraq decayed and the local dynasty of Mazyadids in nearby al-Ḥilla were able to extend their power in central Iraq, especially when in the middle years of the century Fatimid influence grew there under the

al-nafīsa, 94-95, tr. Wiet, 105-106; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938-1939, i, 239, Fr. tr. J. H. Kramers - G. Wiet, *Configuration de la terre*, i, Paris 1964, 231-232; al-Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1906, 118-119; Anonymous, *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, Eng. tr. and commentary V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'ālam "The Regions of the World", a Persian Geography 372 A.H. - 982 A.D.*, 2nd ed. by C. E. Bosworth, London 1970, 130; Le Strange, *Lands*, 39-40; R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles. Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest*, Beirut 1972, 22, 36.

38. al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, xiii, 258-260; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, v, 350-351.

39. *Op. cit.*, 119 n. *a*.

40. L. Massignon, *La passion d'al-Ḥosayn ibn Manṣour al-Ḥallâj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, 1, Paris 1922, 20-21.

41. *Ta'rīkh Wāsiṭ*, Introd., 9-11.

42. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Leiden 1937-1942, Suppl. i, 565; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*², Leiden 1968, 484 and n. 1.

protection of the Shi'ite Mazyadids and the Turkish general Arslan al-Basāsīrī, who in 450/1058 was briefly able to make the Shi'ite *adhān* and the *khuṭba* at Baghdād for the Fatimids of Cairo.[43] The governor in Wāsiṭ, Ibn Fasānjis, in 448/1056, had likewise made the *khuṭba* in Wāsiṭ for the Egyptian caliph al-Mustanṣir and had had the chief mosque in the city painted in the Shi'ite colour of white. But the forces of the Seljuq leader Ṭoghrïl Beg, who had entered Baghdād in 447/1055, ostensibly to rescue the caliphs from the tutelage of the Buyids, marched against Wāsiṭ in 449/1057 and, after a lengthy and harmful siege, the Turks captured the city from Ibn Fasānjis; and after briefly falling under the control of al-Basāsīrī (see above) in 450-451/1058-1059, the city finally reverted definitively to Sunni control.[44]

In 451/1059 the Seljuq sultan was at Wāsiṭ en route for Lower Iraq with the aim of subduing the local amirs and, according to the historian al-Bundārī, he granted the tax-farm (*ḍamān*) of Wāsiṭ to a certain Abū 'Alī b. Faḍlān for 200,000 dīnārs and in 455/1063 to one Abū Ja'far b. Saqlab for the same amount.[45] Ṭoghril's nephew and successor in the sultanate, Alp Arslān, subsequently granted Wāsiṭ as a fief for his Turkish commander Sa'd al-Dawla Gawhar-Āyīn.[46] During the troubled years of the sultanate of Berk-yaruq b. Malik Shāh (r. 487-498/1094-1105), control of the city passed on various occasions from the sultan's Turkish fief holders, *muqṭa's*, into the hands of the Arab Mazyadid Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaqa I b. Manṣūr, e.g. in 496/1103 and 497/1104. On the latter occasion, Ṣadaqa having had Wāsiṭ made over to him by Berk-yaruq's rival for power, his brother Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh, sub-let its tax-farm to the local Arab ruler of the Baṭīḥa, Muhadhdhib al-Dawla b. Abi 'l-Jabr.[47] Wāsiṭ seems, however, normally to have been held at this time by Turkish amīrs who, for instance, in 516/1122 successfully beat off an attack on the city by Ṣadaqa's son Dubays II.[48] The city frequently formed an *iqṭa'* granted by the sultans for the support of their

43. M. Canard, "al-Basāsīrī", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², i, Leiden - London 1960, 1073-1075, here 1074.

44. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, ix, 644-645, x, 8.

45. al-Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra wa-nukhbat al-'uṣra*, in M. Th. Houtsma (ed.), *Recueil des textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, 2, Leiden 1889, 18; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, x, 8, 26.

46. *Ibid.*, x, 296.

47. *Ibid.*, x, 357, 359, 377, 435, 440.

48. *Ibid.*, x, 600.

shiḥna or military governor in Baghdād; thus 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī b. Aq Sunqur received it in 521/1127 when he was *shiḥna* for Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh.[49]

The attempts by the 'Abbasid caliphs al-Rāshid and al-Muqtafi to extend their authority to Wāsiṭ, when the power of the Great Seljuq sultans was waning in Iraq, brought much pillaging and destruction to the city in the 1140s and 1150s. Permanent Seljuq control over Wāsiṭ ceased soon after 547/1152, when Sultan Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad died and the caliph al-Muqtafī was able first to expel Mas'ūd's former *shiḥna* from his capital and then to send forces to recover Wāsiṭ, al-Kūfa and al-Ḥilla for the caliphate.[50] The Sultan Muḥammad II b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad tried to re-assert the dynasty's former rights over Iraq and was at Wāsiṭ before he besieged Baghdād in 551/1157. The city was then governed for the caliph by a Turkish amir, the former retainer of the caliph al-Mustarshid, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Qutlugh Bars,[51] whose control there seems to have lasted till he was killed in 561/1166.[52] The caliph seems also to have had a financial intendant, *nāẓir*, in the city and amongst these are mentioned the eunuch commander Shāms al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Fātin in *ca.* 554/1159 and Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn al-Baladī in 563/1168.[53] The scholar and official 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, whose historical work is enshrined in al-Bundārī's chronicle, the *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, mentions that he was in Wāsiṭ at the end of 554/1159 as the deputy (*nā'ib*) of the caliph's vizier 'Awn al-Dīn Ibn Hubayra and in his literary anthology, the *Kharīdat al-qaṣr*, 'Imād al-Dīn gives extracts from a *qaṣīda* which he addressed to the caliph on his appointment to this office.[54] For almost a century, until the appearance of the Mongols, Wāsiṭ seems to have enjoyed a period of comparative peace, prosperity and expansion under these last decades of restored 'Abbasid rule.

49. *Ibid.*, x, 641.

50. al-Bundārī, *op. cit.*, 235; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, xi, 161-162.

51. In *ibid.*, xi, 212, this name appears as *Kh.t.l.b.r.s.*

52. al-Bundārī, *op. cit.*, 237, 248; Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-saljūqiyya*, ed. M. Iqbal, Lahore 1933, 131, ed. M. Nūr al-Dīn as *Zubdat al-tawārīkh, akhbār al-umarā' wa 'l-mulūk al-saljūqiyya*, Beirut 1984, 244-245; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, xi, 212, 322-323.

53. al-Bundārī, *op. cit.*, 291; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, xi, 329, 332.

54. al-Bundārī, *op. cit.*, 255, 290; 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr, al-qism al-'irāqī*, ed. M. Bahjat al-Atharī - J. Sa'īr, Baghdād 1375/1955, 39ff.

The main internal disturbances seem to have been religious-inspired. In 569/1173-1174 there was rioting by Sunnis and Shi'ites in the city over the funeral of its *muqṭa'*, Yazdān; such riots were apparently frequent at this time, for in recording fresh disturbances between the two religious groups in 621/1224, Ibn al-Athīr mentions that these occurred "according to the usual custom".[55] We know nothing about the ethnic or social differentiations, if any, between the two opposing groups, except that Wāsiṭ was still at this time accounted a predominantly Sunni city, with a strong Ḥanbalī element in it. It was in 590/1194 to be the place of banishment for the great Ḥanbalī scholar of Baghdād, Ibn al-Jawzī, when he fell foul of the caliph al-Nāṣir's Shi'ite vizier Ibn al-Qaṣṣāb, and he was to remain there under house arrest for five years, almost till the end of his life.[56] Yet the existence of a Shi'ite presence within it is not surprising, within a Lower Iraq where Shi'ism was becoming widespread, perhaps under the protection of such local Arab dynasties as the Mazyadids, or even perhaps from a survival of older heterodox ideas in the region, such as those of the Carmathians. It may be relevant in this connection that activities in Wāsiṭ by a group of Bāṭiniyya or Ismailis are recorded by 601/1204-1205 by Ibn al-Athīr.[57] With the revival of the secular power of the caliphate culminating in the caliphate of al-Nāṣir, a process involving the subjugation of local lines like the Mazyadids (whose independent power came to an end in 558/11163, during the caliphate of al-Mustanjid), Wāsiṭ remained firmly under caliphal control till the advent of the Mongols; we know that it was the base for a punitive expedition against the Bedouin Banū Ma'rūf in the Baṭīḥa led by the caliphal governor of Wāsiṭ, Ma'add, in 616/1219.[58]

V

Immediately after the fall of Baghdād to the Mongols in Ṣafar 656/February 1258, the Mongol leader Hülegü allotted the overrunning of Iraq and Khūzistān to his generals Köke Ilge and Qara Boghā. Wāsiṭ was besieged in Rabī' I/April by the commander Buqā Temür and it resisted strenuously till it fell, when 40,000 people were allegedly killed,

55. *Op. cit.*, xii, 395, 424.

56. See Angelika Hartmann, *al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh (1180-1225). Politik, Religion, Kultur in der späten 'Abbāsidenzeit*, Berlin - New York 1975, 188-189, cf. 259.

57. *Op. cit.*, xii, 197.

58. *Ibid.*, xii, 356-357.

though this is doubtless an exaggeration.[59] The city nevertheless revived under the Il-Khanids, who attached Wāsiṭ administratively to Baghdād. From 657/1258 to 681/1282 it came within the governorate, comprising all the former ʿAbbasid lands in Lower Iraq and Khūzistān, which Hülegü and then his son Abaqa entrusted to their official, the historian ʿAṭā' Malik Juwaynī, who governed Wāsiṭ through the local *Ṣadr* or religious head, Majd al-Dīn Ṣalāḥ. It also became once more a significant mint, this time for the Il-Khanids (see above, p. 8). The city was partially restored, but the whole eastern side was now abandoned after the Mongol destructions. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi Qazwīnī, writing in 740/1339-1340, describes it as now mainly lying on the western bank, an indication of the decay of the ancient Kaskar on the opposite bank, but as still surrounded by extensive date-palm groves.[60] Below Wāsiṭ, however, the five canals now running off the Tigris had deprived the main channel of an adequate water level for ships to pass. It was around this time, too, that Ibn Baṭṭūta visited Wāsiṭ en route for al-Baṣra. He was delighted to find it such a flourishing centre of Islamic learning, particularly Qur'ānic studies, and he praised the magnificence of the *madrasa* founded and endowed by Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Wāsiṭī (d. 744/1343-1344).[61] This *madrasa* had 300 *ḥujras* or cells for students. Ibn Baṭṭūta also took the opportunity to visit the tomb of Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī at the village of Umm ʿUbayda/ʿAbīda, one day's journey outside Wāsiṭ.[62]

Wāsiṭ remained of significance for the rest of the 8th/14th century, when most of Iraq was in the hands of the Turkmen Jalāyirids as successors to the Il-Khanids. But towards the end of this century, the whole vast region of Persia and Mesopotamia was disturbed by the

59. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, cited in B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran. Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220-1350*, Leipzig 1939, 55; Minhāj al-Dīn Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i nāṣirī*, Eng. tr. H. G. Raverty, London 1881-1899, 1261 n.

60. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi Qazwini, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. and Eng. tr. G. Le Strange, Leiden - London 1916-1919, text 47, 214, tr. 53, 207.

61. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was the author of a hagiographical biography of the Sufi saint and thaumaturge, founder of the Rifāʿiyya *ṭarīqa* or brotherhood, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī, still extant according Brockelmann, *Geschichte*², ii, 215, Suppl. ii, 214.

62. *Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār = Riḥla*, ed. and Fr. tr. C. Defrémery - B. R. Sanguinetti, Paris 1853-1859, ii, 2-4, Eng. tr. H. A. R. Gibb - C. F. Beckingham, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, Cambridge - London 1958-2000, ii, 272-273.

activities of Tīmūr and his Turco-Mongol hordes. In summer 795/1393 Tīmūr invaded Iraq as far as Wāsiṭ and al-Baṣra, with the Jalāyirid Aḥmad b. Uways fleeing before him. In summer 803-804/1401 Tīmūr re-appeared and devastated Baghdad, Wāsiṭ and al-Ḥilla, with a further incursion that winter; and in 806/1403, after his defeat of the Ottomans and Mamluks, he appeared in Iraq yet again, defeating Aḥmad b. Uways's supplanter in Baghdād, the Qara Qoyunlu Qara Yūsuf Sharaf al-Dīn.[63] Jalāyirid power was, in fact, by now reduced to Lower Iraq, including Wāsiṭ, al-Baṣra, al-Ḥilla, al-Najaf and Karbalā', until in 832/1432 these territories also were lost to the Qara Qoyunlu Ḥusayn ʿAlī (whose family were nominally vassals of the Timurid Shāh Rukh but in practice independent). There then appeared on the scene the founder of the Shiʿite Mushaʿshaʿī dynasty of western Khūzistān, Sayyid Muḥammad b. Falāḥ (d. 870/1465-1466), who was born at Wāsiṭ and who began his messianic preaching amongst the Arabs of the neighbouring marshlands - by now almost wholly Shiʿite - such as the Banū Maʿdān, until he was defeated by the (Qara Qoyunlu?) governor of Wāsiṭ and forced to move across the Tigris to Huwayza/Hawīza, from where he made several attacks on Wāsiṭ in the late 1430s and early 1440s.[64]

The decline and gradual disappearance of Wāsiṭ must, however, have begun soon after this. Sayyid Muhammad's son, Sayyid Sulṭān ʿAlī, in 857/1453 besieged and then sacked Wāsiṭ, in the course of these operations chopping down the surrounding date-palms, and the fugitive inhabitants abandoned the town.[65] Some of them seem to have settled in a village, the second Wāsiṭ, founded not far from the original city, and this had a life of at least a century or so, being mentioned in 941/1534 when the Ottoman forces of Süleymān the Magnificent took it. The environment had meanwhile altered, with a change in the course of the two main arms of the Tigris, involving a shrinkage of the volume of water in the western arm on which Wāsiṭ was situated, so that its main

63. Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. M. M. Ilahdad, *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1885-1888, ii, 370, 385ff; W. Caskel, "Ein Mahdī des 15. Jahrhunderts. Saijid Muḥammad ibn Falāḥ und seine Nachkommen", *Islamica* 4 (1931) 51-54.

64. *Ibid.*, 55-56; S. A. Kasravī, *Tārīkh-i pānṣad sāla-yi Khūzistān*, Tehran 1313/1934, 1-140; P. Luft, "Mu<u>sh</u>aʿ<u>sh</u>aʿ", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², vii, Leiden - New York 1993, 672-675, at 672.

65. Caskel, *op. cit.*, 68.

flow was now in the eastern channel which today runs from Kūt al-ʿAmāra to Qurna. The 11th/17th century writer Ḥājjī Khalīfa mentions in his geographical work, the *Jihān-nümā*, that Wāsiṭ lay on a dry river bed in the middle of the desert; the Tigris had recently changed its course from the mediaeval one to the present one further east.[66] After this, all trace of it becomes lost in historical literature; only in the 1830s was the site first shown by local people to the Western travellers mentioned at the beginning of this article and interest gradually re-awakened by historian and archaeologists in what had been for over seven hundred years a salient urban centre of the Middle East.

66. Cited in Le Strange, *Lands*, 40.

Michael Cook

THE STEMMA OF THE REGIONAL CODICES OF THE KORAN

1. Introduction

Is it possible to determine the stemma of the regional Koranic codices of the early Islamic period? In an earlier study, I made some rash observations on the question in a footnote,[1] largely adopting a stemma proposed by Nöldeke in 1860.[2] Since then, I have come to see that matters are less straightforward. Hence the present study.

The Muslim sources describe the preparation of an officially approved text of the Koran under the rule of the Caliph ʿUthmān (r. 23-35/644-656) and its subsequent distribution to the provinces. The Andalusian scholar Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī (d. 444/1053) gives two accounts of this distribution.[3] According to the first, ʿUthmān had four copies of the text prepared

1. M. Cook, "A Koranic codex inherited by Mālik from his grandfather", *Graeco-Arabica* 7-8 (1999-2000) 93-105, here 101, n. 52. Since then, I have benefited from working through the material in a couple of my graduate seminars.

2. T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorâns*, Göttingen 1860, 242 (describing the proposed stemma as the most probable). This stemma reappears unchanged in T. Nöldeke *et al.*, *Geschichte des Qorāns*², 3, Leipzig 1926-1938, 15 (the relevant part of the work was revised by G. Bergsträsser). It is striking how much of the discussion of the regional codices found in the second edition of this work was already present in the first; but all further references will be to the second edition.

3. Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ fī rasm maṣāḥif al-amṣār*, ed. O. Pretzl, Istanbul 1932, 10.8. This work is cited hereafter as *Muqniʿ*. For other such accounts, see, for example, Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *Maṣāḥif*, ed. A. Jeffery in his *Materials for the history of the text of the Qur'ān*, Leyden 1937, 34.14, 34.17; this work is cited hereafter as *Maṣāḥif*.

(*ja'alahu 'alā arba' nusakh*); he sent one to Kūfa, one to Baṣra, one to Syria[4] and kept one himself (*amsaka 'inda nafsihi wāḥida*). This, he says, is the more correct version and the view of most scholars. According to the second account, 'Uthmān prepared not four, but seven copies, and sent the extra ones to Mecca, Yemen and Bahrayn; but Dānī does not give credence to this version.

Before we proceed further, we should note two ambiguities in these accounts. One is that it is not quite clear whether we are to think of the set of four (or seven) copies as including or excluding the archetype (that is to say, the text from which all the others derived, directly or indirectly). However, the statement that 'Uthmān kept one copy for himself would suggest that there was no archetype outside the set. The other ambiguity is that we are left uncertain as to whether we should regard the copy which 'Uthmān retained as his personal copy, or rather as that of Medina (on a par with those of Kūfa, Baṣra and Syria). The wording suggests the first, but analogy would lead us to expect the second.

For the moment, let us keep things simple by making three assumptions. First, we will set aside the second account given by Dānī and go by the first — just as he indicates we should do. Second, we will assume that the archetype is contained within the foursome. Third, we will take it that the copy which 'Uthmān retained was (or did double duty as) the Medinese copy. Accordingly, we are for the present concerned with four and only four regional codices. We can designate these as S (that sent to Syria), M (that retained by 'Uthmān in Medina), B (that sent to Baṣra) and K (that sent to Kūfa).

Of course, none of these four codices — S, M, B and K — survives today. We do, however, possess detailed accounts of the textual variants which distinguished these codices (or rather their regional off-spring).[5] One such account is given by Dānī in a chapter on the subject.[6] He runs through the Koran identifying thirty-six points at which such variants occur and, in each case, he informs us of the regional readings.[7] This is not a large

4. Elsewhere its destination is specified as Ḥimṣ (*Muqni'*, 109.13, 121.2).

5. The sources regularly speak of, say, "the codices of the Baṣrans", but hardly ever refer to variations within a such regional group (for an exception, see *Muqni'*, 109.18 on Q4:36). For practical purposes, we can accordingly succumb to the convenience of speaking of "the Baṣran codex", and similarly for the other regional textual traditions.

6. *Muqni'*, 108-116.

number for a text as long as the Koran; the proportion of words affected is less than one in two thousand. The number of distinct readings at any given point never exceeds two, each regional codex having one or the other. Dānī is not alone in preserving this information. For example, substantially the same data are to be found in works of Ibn Abī Dāwūd (d. 316/929)[8] and Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām (d. 224/838f);[9] and they are reproduced in the standard modern history of the Koran.[10] There are some discrepancies between the various sources, but we need consider them only as they become relevant to our concerns. Let us proceed codex by codex.

2. *The Syrian codex*

The Syrian case is a simple one.[11] There is one set of points (sixteen in number) at which S is isolated (that is to say, its readings are not found in M, B, or K). And there is a second set of points (thirteen in number) at which it agrees with M against B and K.[12] It never agrees with B or K against M.[13]

We can accordingly characterize S by listing the points at which it has isolated readings (leaving the readings it shares with M against B and K to our discussion of M). These readings are as follows:[14]

(S1) Q2:116 *qālū* (for *wa-qālū*).
(S2) Q3:184 *bi'l-bayyināti wa-bi'l-zuburi wa-bi'l-kitābi* (for

7. Thirty-six is my count. Dānī lists variants at forty-three points, but six definitely and one arguably oppose the Meccan codex to our foursome, and are thus irrelevant to us at this stage. The arguable case is Q47:18 (C7 in the list of Meccan variants given in section 9 below).

8. *Maṣāḥif*, 39-49.

9. Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, Beirut 1991, 196-200. This work is cited hereafter as *Faḍā'il*.

10. Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 11-14.

11. See Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 15.

12. I leave aside Q23:85-89 (B1).

13. I leave aside Q91:15 (M13).

14. Ibn Abī Dāwūd quotes a list (*Maṣāḥif*, 44.14) in which many of these readings are ascribed also to M (the first such case is at 44.17, the last at 47.11). This looks like massive confusion, since the readings of M are well-attested in actual codices, and I disregard it. For a couple of stray readings ascribed to S, without adequate comparative data from the other codices, see *Muqni'*, 121.4, and *Maṣāḥif*, 44.13, 45.19 (on Q8:67); *Muqni'*, 121.5 (on Q18:77). I disregard these.

		bi'l-bayyināti wa-'l-zuburi wa-'l-kitābi).[15]
(S3)	Q4:66	*mā fa'alūhu illā qalīlan minhum* (where the rest have *qalīlun*).
(S4)	Q6:32	*wa-la-dāru 'l-ākhirati* (for *wa-la-l-dāru 'l-ākhiratu*).[16]
(S5)	Q6:137	*shurakā'ihim* (for *shurakā'uhum*).
(S6)	Q7:3	*yatadhakkarūn* (for *tadhakkarūn* or *tadhdhakkarūn*).[17]
(S7)	Q7:43	*mā* (for *wa-mā*).
(S8)	Q7:75	*wa-qāla* (for *qāla*).
(S9)	Q7:141	*anjākum* (for *anjaynākum*).
(S10)	Q10:22	*yanshurukum* (for *yusayyirukum*).
(S11)	Q17:93	*qāla* (for *qul*).[18]
(S12)	Q39:64	*ta'murūnanī* (for *ta'murūnnī*).
(S13)	Q40:21	*minkum* (for *minhum*).
(S14)	Q55:12	*dhā 'l-'aṣfi* (for *dhū 'l-'aṣfi*).
(S15)	Q55:78	*dhū 'l-jalāli* (for *dhī 'l-jalāli*).
(S16)	Q57:10	*kullun* (for *kullan*).

We can leave aside for now the interesting question whether any of these readings can be classed as right or wrong.

3. The Medinese codex

The picture in the Medinese case differs significantly from the Syrian. Whereas S has sixteen isolated readings, M has none; at any given point we will find it to side either with S or with B. We can accordingly characterise it by listing the thirteen readings in which it differs from B. These readings are as follows:[19]

(M1)	Q2:132	*wa-awṣā* (for *wa-waṣṣā*).
(M2)	Q3:133	*sāri'ū* (for *wa-sāri'ū*).
(M3)	Q5:53	*yaqūlu* (for *wa-yaqūlu*).
(M4)	Q5:54	*yartadid* (for *yartadda*).
(M5)	Q9:107	*alladhīna* (for *wa-'lladhīna*).
(M6)	Q18:36	*minhumā* (for *minhā*).
(M7)	Q26:217	*fa-tawakkal* (for *wa-tawakkal*).
(M8)	Q40:26	*wa-an* (for *aw an*).[20]
(M9)	Q42:30	*bi-mā* (for *fa-bi-mā*).
(M10)	Q43:68	*yā-'ibādī* with final *yā'* (for *yā-'ibādi* without final *yā'*).[21]
(M11)	Q43:71	*tashtahīhi* (for *tashtahī*).
(M12)	Q57:24	*fa-inna 'llāha 'l-ghaniyyu* (for *fa-ina 'llāha huwa 'l-ghaniyyu*).
(M13)	Q91:15	*fa-lā* (for *wa-lā*).[22]

Again we can defer the question whether any of these readings can be pronounced right or wrong.

4. The Baṣran codex

The Baṣran codex is in a significant way the mirror image of the Medinese codex. Like M, B has no isolated readings;[23] at every point, it agrees either with K or with M — but never with S against M (just as M agrees at every point with either S or B, but never with K against B). We have no need to list the points at which B differs from M, since we have already listed them in considering M; nor do we need to list the points at

15. Another version of this variant drops the third *bi-* (*Muqni'*, 109.14).

16. In origin this may be no more than an orthographic variant (Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 12, n. 3).

17. For these alternative pronunciations of the majority reading, see Ibn Mujāhid, *Kitāb al-sab'a fī 'l-qirā'āt*, ed. S. Ḍīf, Cairo 1980, 278 n. 1. This work is cited hereafter as *Sab'a*.

18. This is also found ascribed to K in one source (*Maṣāḥif*, 48.3). I disregard this.

19. Again I disregard Q23:85-89 (B1).

20. Dānī gives *aw an* as an isolated Kūfan reading, implying that *wa-an* was the Baṣran reading (*Muqni'*, 114.1) and this is supported by the reading of the Baṣran Abū 'Amr (*Sab'a*, 569 no. 6). But Dānī later quotes a list in which *aw an* is described as the reading of "the people of Iraq" (*Muqni'*, 117.5; similarly *Maṣāḥif*, 46.20, and *Faḍā'il*, 197.3); Ibn Abī Dāwūd quotes a list which states explicitly that both the Kūfans and the Baṣrans read *aw an* (*Maṣāḥif*, 40.1); and such was also the reading of the Baṣran Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī (Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr fī 'l-qirā'āt al-'ashr*, ed. 'A. M. al-Dabbā', 2, Cairo n.d., 365.6).

21. *Muqni'*, 114.7. I include this orthographic variant only because Dānī does so without countermanding it; it does not normally appear in lists of the differences between M and B (see, for example, *Muqni'*, 117.6).

22. The text of Dānī's *Muqni'* as we have it would make this an isolated Medinese reading (116.1). But it seems clear that *wa-'l-Shām* has dropped out here (see *Muqni'*, 119.15, noted hereto in the German section, 30; *Maṣāḥif*, 47.12; *Faḍā'il*, 199.8; *Sab'a*, 689 no. 2).

23. As noted in Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 15.

which B differs from K, since we will list them when discussing K.

There is, however, a fly in the ointment which would disrupt the analysis just given. The data in our sources do in fact present us with one isolated Baṣran reading:

(B1) Q23:85-89 *lillāhi, allāhu, allāhu* (for *lillāhi* thrice).

Apart from the fact that this would be the *only* isolated Baṣran reading, the sources preserve accounts according to which the two additional *alif*s of B were inserted at a secondary stage.[24] Dānī rejects these accounts with some consternation, and the fact that they ascribe the insertion to three different people does not inspire great confidence. But the accounts fit the textual evidence and I shall accordingly ignore this reading.

5. The Kūfan codex

If the Baṣran codex is a mirror image of the Medinese, the Kūfan codex is a mirror image of the Syrian — in qualitative, though not in quantitative terms.[25] That is to say, the readings of K are either isolated or shared with B; K never agrees with M or S against B. (The only significant exception to this would be the reading we just considered when discussing B and rejected as secondary; had we accepted it, we would have K agreeing with S and M against B.)[26] We can accordingly characterize K by listing its isolated readings, which number six (in contrast to the sixteen of S). They are as follows:[27]

(K1) Q6:63 *anjānā*[28] (for *anjaytanā*).

24. See Cook, "Koranic Codex", 98 n. 41; also *Maṣāḥif*, 50.1, 118.1 (ascribing the insertion to Ḥajjāj).

25. Cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 15. Contrast the implausible Syrian claim that the copies sent to Syria and Baṣra, unlike that sent to Kūfa, were checked (*'uriḍa*) before being dispatched (*Maṣāḥif*, 35.13).

26. The insignificant exception would be the stray ascription of the reading *qāla* for *qul* in Q17:93 (S11) to K. Both the ascription and the difference are marginal.

27. I leave aside Q47:18 (C7), where the ascription of the reading *ta'tihim* to the Kūfan codex seems doubtful. I likewise disregard Q40:26 (M8). Neither appears in the lists of intra-Iraqi differences (*Muqni'*, 119.18; *Faḍā'il*, 119.11). For a stray instance of an isolated reading ascribed to K in Q4:36, see above, note 5, and *Maṣāḥif*, 40.21 (but contrast 48.11).

28. Written *'njyn'* (*Muqni'*, 110.11).

(K2) Q21:4 *qāla* (for *qul*).
(K3) Q23:112 *qul* (for *qāla*).[29]
(K4) Q23:114 exactly as Q23:112.
(K5) Q36:35 *'amilat* (for *'amilat-hu*).[30]
(K6) Q46:15 *iḥsānan* (for *ḥusnan*).

Note that three of these variants are of marginal significance, involving merely the alternation of *qāla* and *qul* — in origin no more than a matter of vocalisation. Again we can defer the question whether any of these variants can be classed as right or wrong.

6. Flies in the ointment

For most of the thirty-six points at which variants occur, the transmission is unambiguous. But at some points, as we have seen, there is confusion, which in each case I have resolved one way or the other. In terms of their effect on the presentation of the data above, these cases are of two kinds.[31]

First, there are cases which would alter somewhat the precise numbers of isolated or shared readings given above, but would have no effect on the structural relationships we have discerned. One case in point is the reading *aw an* in Q40:26 (M8), which I have treated as common to B and K, the alternative being to treat it as an isolated reading of K. Another is the reading *ta'tihim* in Q47:18 (listed below as C7, a Meccan reading), which I have disregarded altogether; the alternative is to add it to the isolated readings of K.

Second, there are two cases which, if resolved differently, would break the structural relationships we have found. One is the reading *allāhu* for *lillāhi* at two points in Q23:85-89 (B1), if we were to accept it as original to B, which would then display an isolated reading. The other case is the

29. Of the three classical Kūfan reciters, two — Ḥamza and Kisā'ī — read this as *qul*, whereas one ('Āṣim) read it as *qāla* (*Sab'a*, 449 no. 19). Since the reading in the standard Egyptian printings of the Koran follows 'Āṣim, we find it so vocalised there.

30. Here the reading of Ḥafṣ from 'Āṣim (in contrast to those of Ḥamza, Kisā'ī and Abū Bakr from 'Āṣim) agreed with the non-Kūfan text (*Sab'a*, 540 no. 6), so it is no surprise to find the latter in the Egyptian Koran.

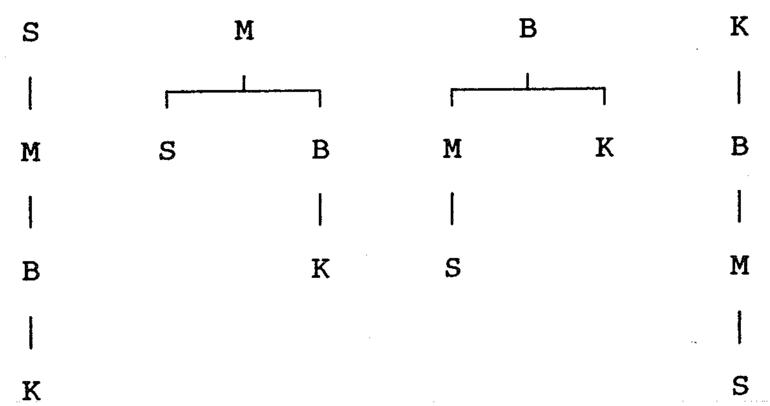
31. I leave out of consideration some cases in which the attestation is marginal, or the variation likely to be trivial (in particular the alternation of *qāla* and *qul*; for this, see Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 16).

reading *fa-lā* in Q91:15 (M13); if we did not ascribe this also to S, it would be isolated in M. It is thus encouraging that there is adequate reason to reject the undesirable alternative in the first case and strong reason to reject it in the second.

7. Constructing a stemma for S, M, B and K

Let us now introduce some terms for subsets of the foursome. We can call S and K the outlying codices; M and B the central codices; S and M the western codices; and B and K the eastern codices.

Using these terms, the pattern of the data presented above can be summed up as follows. The readings of each outlying codex are either isolated or identical with those of the central codex of its geographical group. The readings of each central codex are never isolated, but agree with those of either the outlying codex of its own geographical group, or the other central codex. The question is then which of the numerous conceivable stemmas are compatible with these facts. The answer is four distinct stemmas, each of which is uniquely determined as soon as we choose which codex to place at the top:



(a) (b) (c) (d)

This may seem a frustrating result, and to an extent it is. But it does achieve something. The number of conceivable stemmas for the foursome, even on the assumption we made earlier, is no less than sixty;[32] the data have done us the favour of reducing these sixty to four.

Is it possible to go beyond this and seek to reduce these four possible stemmas to one? Nöldeke certainly thought so: after an insightful but all too brief discussion, he opted for (b) as the most probable solution.[33] But why (b)? He undoubtedly had his reasons, but what they were is somewhat unclear.[34] So we are on our own.

Further progress depends on being able to identify points at which one of the variants looks right and the other wrong; cases where both seem equally admissible will no longer help us. The problem is that most of the variants we are dealing with are indeed of this neutral kind and none evince the stunning clarity that would enable us to exclaim: "God could never have said *that*, He could only have said *this*."[35] I will not attempt to discuss each variant, or any of them in detail; the curious reader should go to the Koranic contexts and make an independent assessment. In what follows I shall simply pick out those points at which I think there is reason to prefer one variant to the other.

Let us start with the isolated readings of S. There are two things to notice. One is that there is no case in which one has the sense that the reading of S is the right one. The other is that about half the variants of S look wrong. This involves some subjectivity of judgement, but my own list of more or less wrong Syrian variants would run: (S3), (S5),[36] (S9), (S11), (S13), (S14), (S15), (S16).

Next we come to the points at which M differs from B. Here,

32. There are 4 x 3 x 2 = 24 conceivable unilinear stemmas (that is, stemmas of the type to which [a] and [d] belong); 4 x 3 x 2 = 24 conceivable forked stemmas in which the fork immediately follows the archetype (that is, stemmas of the type to which [b] and [c] belong); and 4 x 3 = 12 conceivable forked stemmas in which the fork does not immediately follow the archetype (not illustrated, since none of them are possible).

33. Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 15. No other stemma is considered.

34. He makes a tantalising reference to his recourse to "the tradition" ("mit Hinzuziehung der Tradition"). But what relevant information does the tradition have to offer us?

35. This point is noted in Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 14.

36. For the vocalisation of the context by Ibn ʿĀmir, see *Sabʿa*, 270 no. 54; for the strained Syrian understanding of the verse, see *Faḍāʾil*, 198.6. Nöldeke describes the reading as "sprachlich kaum möglich" (*Geschichte*, 12 n. 5).

unfortunately, I have no sense that at any point one of the variants is right and the other wrong.

Finally, there are the isolated readings of K. Here there is less to go on than in the case of S; the variants tend to be neutral or the differences marginal. The one case that help us is Q46:15 (K6), where the *iḥsānan* of K seems the better reading.

In other words, if we assume that texts start right and become corrupted as they are copied, we can infer with some confidence that S was copied from M and at the same time suggest that B was copied from K. The first inference would eliminate stemma (a); the second, less certain inference would eliminate all but (d). In short, we find for (b), (c) or (d), with a preference for (d). But there is a catch. We assumed that the text started right and was corrupted; but it is also possible that, within the foursome, it started corrupted and was subjected to sensible corrections (as well as some random variation) on the part of the scribes; the wrong readings I have pointed to are not, after all, ones that only a philologist could improve on and they may therefore not be significant for the purpose in hand. If we recognise this as a possibility, then we are still left with four possible stemmas.

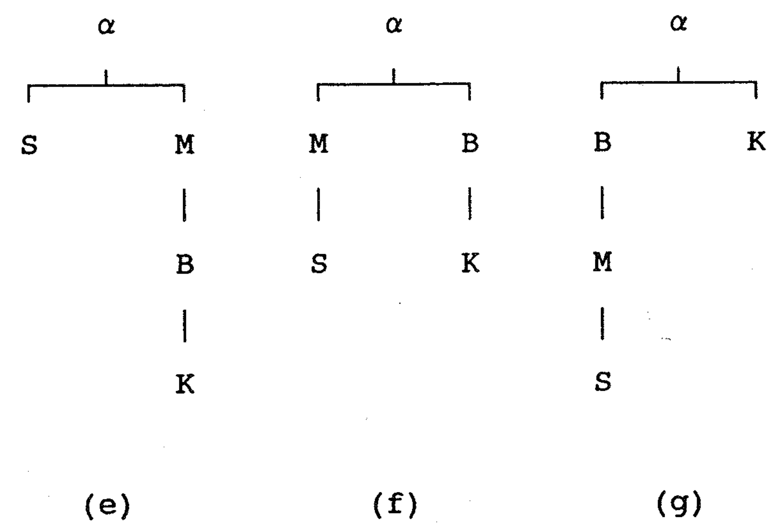
There is one other possibility, though it may be a remote one. If we had readings from non-ʿUthmānic codices at the points in question, these might help us to identify one of a given pair of variants as original and the other as secondary. I know of no such readings, but perhaps the earliest fragments from Ṣanʿāʾ will have something to offer.

8. An archetype outside the foursome?

We have assumed so far that there was one codex among the four from which the others were copied, directly or indirectly. But what if this was not the case? Let us consider this possibility in two ways: first in the abstract and second in terms of the data provided by Dānī and the other sources regarding the textual variants found in the codex they refer to as the *imām* — a term we can translate as "archetype".

There is, of course, nothing to be gained by inserting a hypothetical archetype — call it α — above any of the four stemmas considered above. If one of these four stemmas were established, then no doubt we would tend to assume that the codex at the top was itself copied from an earlier exemplar of some kind; but we would have nothing further to say about that exemplar.

Where introducing a hypothetical archetype makes a real difference is that it allows us to construct stemmas in which α is followed immediately by a fork.[37] How many prongs could such a fork have? There is no way in which four or even three of the regional codices could branch off immediately from α; for were that the case, we could expect to find at least one central codex displaying isolated readings, and at least one outlying codex agreeing with a member of the other geographical group. But a two-pronged fork is perfectly in order. Out of sixty-one conceivable stemmas of this type,[38] three are possible:



37. In principle, we might insert a hypothetical codex (call it β) at some lower point in a stemma. There would be two ways to do this. First, given a relationship of the form M—S (S as a copy of M), we could expand this to M—β—S; but this would be pointless. Second, we could construct a fork in which, say, M and S were alike copies of β; but this would be impossible, or at best implausible. Any such fork should produce two codices each of which has isolated readings; but the only codices with such readings are S and K, and these are more closely related to the corresponding central codices than they are to each other.

38. The conceivable stemmas are: all four copied immediately from α (one case, not possible); three so copied, the other being copied from one of the three (twelve cases, none possible); two so copied, the other two being copied one from each of

Can we eliminate any of these on the assumption that superior variants are more likely to be original? Here the inferiority of S does not help; if we were willing to argue from the one plausible instance of the superiority of K, we could eliminate (e) and (f).

What then of the variants ascribed in our sources to the *imām* — the "codex of ʿUthmān", as Dānī sometimes glosses the term in his citations?[39] There are two basic problems here. The first that we are only given readings from the *imām* at a limited number of points, typically ones at which M and B differ. The second is that different sources give different — and indeed contradictory — information.

Thus Dānī gives eight readings from the *imām*. Five are on the authority of Abū ʿUbayd, who tells us that he had himself seen the *imām* — or, as he puts it in one instance, "the one which is called the *imām*".[40] Three of these readings show the *imām* as having a western text in Q2:132 (M1), Q5:54 (M4) and Q43:71 (M11). One shows the *imām* as not sharing the inserted *alifs* of B in Q23:85-89 (B1). And one shows the *imām* as not sharing the isolated reading of S in Q55:12 (S14). In other words, Abū ʿUbayd's *imām* always agrees with M, and in one instance disagrees with S. This means that it could not be the α of (g); and it does not fit well as that of (e) or (f), since we would then expect it to agree at times with S in (e) or B in (f) — though the number of readings is too small for confidence. Dānī's remaining variants stem from other sources. One reports from the *imām* the reading *aw an* in Q40:26 (M8);[41] this makes the *imām* side with the eastern group (or less likely with K alone). Another transmits eastern readings at Q57:24 (M12) and Q91:15 (M13).[42] These eastern readings can be multiplied by turning to lists quoted by Ibn Abī Dāwūd, which show agreement with B at all points.[43]

In other words, the tradition is split as to whether the *imām* had a text of an eastern or western type, and a strong suspicion arises that we have to do with ordinary regional codices mistakenly identified by later generations as

these (twelve cases, one possible); two so copied, the other two being copied from one of these (twelve cases, none possible); two so copied, a third from one of these two, and the fourth from the third (twenty-four cases, two possible).

39. *Muqniʿ*, 109.4, 114.3, 115.12.

40. *Muqniʿ*, 115.12.

41. *Muqniʿ*, 114.2.

42. *Muqniʿ*, 120.13.

43. *Maṣāḥif*, 37.6, 37.19, 41.11 (these lists do not cover the orthographic variation in Q43:68 [M10]). Note also *Maṣāḥif*, 38.20 on Q2:132 (M1).

the *imām*. There is indeed a report that the *imām* was lost at the time that ʿUthmān was killed.[44] In short, the data we are given regarding the text of the *imām* cannot help us.

9. The Meccan codex

It will be remembered that Dānī's second, rejected account of the distribution of the codices adds three further copies to the four of the first version, specifying that they went to Mecca, Yemen and Bahrayn. In transmitting the data on the variants of the regional codices, the sources make no mention of any codices associated with Yemen or Bahrayn. But they regularly give us information about the Meccan codex.[45] Let us call it C, and see how its variants relate to those of the foursome.

We may begin with the outlying codices. Here C is distant from both S and K. There is only one case of C sharing an isolated reading of S, and it is not significant (*qāla* for *qul* in Q17:93 [S11]). There are two doubtful points at which C might share an isolated reading of K. One is Q40:26 (M8), where there is good reason to consider the variant to belong also to B. The other is Q47:18 (C7), where the Kūfan reading is questionable.

What then of the relationship between C and the central codices? Where M and B differ, C usually agrees with B. Thus there are at least nine points at which it sides with B against M. At two points, however, it sides with M against B: in Q5:53 (M3) and Q18:36 (M6). And in two cases matters are in doubt: in Q40:26 (M8), where there is some uncertainty regarding the reading of B; and in Q43:68 (M10), where the doubt is about the reading of C.[46]

Finally, there are seven (or at least five) points at which C is isolated. They are as follows:[47]

(C1) Q9:100 *min taḥtihā* (for *taḥtahā*).[48]

44. See Cook, "Koranic Codex", 100 n. 48, with further references for the fate of the *imām*.

45. Note, however, that at two points Dānī resorts to drawing inferences about the readings of the Meccan codex for lack of adequate information (*Muqniʿ*, 113.2, 114.9).

46. *Muqniʿ*, 114.9.

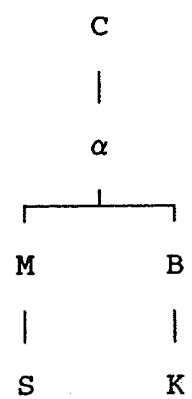
47. For a stray reading ascribed to C without adequate comparative data from the other codices, see *Muqniʿ*, 121.1 and *Maṣāḥif*, 47.16 (on Q4:171).

48. *Muqniʿ*, 111.7 (the editor has misidentified the verse, as also at 117.16).

(C2)	Q18:95	*makkananī* (for *makkannī*).[49]
(C3)	Q21:30	*a-lam* (for *a-wa-lam*).
(C4)	Q25:25	*nunazzilu* (for *nuzzila*).
(C5)	Q27:21	*la-ya'tiyannanī* (for *la-ya'tiyannī*).
(C6)	Q28:37	*qāla* (for *wa-qāla*).
(C7)	Q47:18	*ta'tihim* (for *ta'tiyahum*).[50]

None of these variants looks superior.

What can we conclude from this? The fact that C shows agreements with both central codices means that it cannot have been copied exclusively from either. Still less can it have been copied from S or K, since it regularly agrees with the others against each. In other words, it cannot be placed within any of the seven possible stemmas as a derivative codex. Nor can it be identified with α in those stemmas, since the chances that two independent copies of C would agree against its isolated readings are minimal. In fact the only possible stemma uniting C with the foursome would be the following:



(h)

This, of course, assumes that the three possible agreements of C with the outlying codices are to be discarded, and uses α to remove the isolated readings of C before they can be inherited by either M or B. The fact that none of the isolated readings of C looks superior counts somewhat against

49. A deviant tradition would make this also an Iraqi reading (*Maṣāḥif*, 46.7).

50. Unless this is also the reading of K, but this seems doubtful (*Muqni'*, 115.4; *Maṣāḥif*, 40.18, 48.20).

this clumsy stemma and we can probably set it aside. If we do that, the way is open to classifying C as a product of contamination. Specifically, C looks like a confluence of B and M, with B predominant.[51]

10. Conclusion

As we have seen, the data supplied by the Muslim scholars do not enable us to determine the stemma of the regional codices. But they do eliminate a large number of the conceivable stemmas — well over a hundred — and they allow some weighting of probabilities among those that remain. The most attractive stemma is perhaps (d), in which K is the archetype — but not by a wide margin.

What implications do these findings have — or not have — for the history of the Koran? Four points are perhaps worth making.

First, the answer to the question which of the foursome (if any) was the archetype has no significant historical implications.[52] To see this, let us assume that four copies were indeed prepared in Medina and then distributed. In this situation, there is no real reason why the archetype, assuming it was among them, should be the one chosen to remain in Medina. There might well have been an intention to keep the best copy in Medina; but this could have led to the retention of the most attractive copy, rather than of the archerype.

Second, Dānī and others speak of the regional codices as "copied from the *imām*".[53] If by this is meant that each of the copies was made directly from the *imām* (be the *imām* one of the foursome or not), then this is demonstrably wrong.

Third, the single most striking feature of the variants reported for the foursome is the lack of any serious indication of contamination between their texts. This must count against any suggestion that the variants were invented.[54] For to fabricate a set of variants free of the appearance of

51. In other words, it is an eclectic text (Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 15). It is unlikely to be a composite text in the manner of Mālik's grandfather's codex (see Cook, "Koranic Codex", 99), since the two agreements with M against B are sandwiched between agreements with B against M.

52. Perhaps Nöldeke had missed this point (cf. above, n. 34).

53. *Muqni'*, 108.16 (*al-muntasakha min al-imām*); also *Muqni'*, 2.10; *Maṣāḥif*, 39.8; and cf. *Faḍā'il*, 200.5 and *Muqni'*, 116.4.

54. It is also a testimony to the continuing accuracy of the transmission of the variants.

contamination, the early Muslim scholars would have needed some kind of operational understanding of the mechanics of textual transmission — the logic of stemmas and contamination. We know that their successors, the authors of our sources, did not possess this; indeed it was not to be found in any scholarly culture until the last few centuries. We can accordingly infer that we have to do with genuine transmissions from an archetype.[55]

Finally, our examination of C tends to support Dānī's rejection of his second account of the distribution of the codices. It is most likely that C is a contaminated text, and this would go well with a later origin.

55. Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 9.

Jehan Desanges

LA DOCUMENTATION AFRICAINE DU ΣΤΑΔΙΑΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΣ: UN PROBLEME DE DATATION

Le *Stadiasme de la Grande Mer* a été édité pour la première fois à Madrid en 1769.[1] Il a été en effet transmis au monde moderne, avec d'importantes lacunes, par un unique manuscrit, datant du Xe siècle et conservé à Madrid, le *Matritensis* 121, renuméroté 4701, *gr.* 150.[2] L'édition encore utilisée le plus couramment de nos jours est celle de C. Müller dans ses *Geographi Graeci minores*, t. I, 427-514, avec une traduction et un abondant commentaire, l'une et l'autre en latin. C'est une œuvre qui date d'un siècle et demi (1855). La préface du *Stadiasme*, elle-même lacunaire, permet d'en restituer approximativement le plan. Il s'agit d'un périple de la Méditerranée, dont le point de départ vers l'ouest comme vers l'est se trouve à Alexandrie, dotée précisément d'un port occidental et d'un port oriental. La première section conduisait donc le lecteur d'Alexandrie aux Colonnes héracléotiques ou de Gadès; la seconde d'Alexandrie jusqu'à la rive asiatique du Bosphore, ou peut-être, si l'on se refuse à corriger le manuscrit, par la rive asiatique du Pont-Euxin, jusqu'à *Dioscuris* (Sukhumi, en Géorgie); enfin la troisième, de la côte européenne du Bosphore aux mêmes Colonnes de Gadès, qui correspondent à l'entrée méditerranéenne de notre Détroit de Gibraltar.

1. J. Iriarte, *Regiae bibliothecae Matritensis codices Graeci manuscripti*, 1, Madrid 1769, 485-493. Une autre édition a été donnée ensuite par J.-F. Gail, *Geographi Graeci minores*, 2, Paris 1828, 433-501.

2. G. de Andres, *Catalogo de los codices griegos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid 1987, 264-265.

Subsistent seulement dans le manuscrit une description de la côte libyque d'Alexandrie à Utique, puis une description du littoral de l'Asie, de Karnae (Tell Qarnoun), en Phénicie, station navale d'Arados d'après Strabon,[3] jusqu'à Milet. De plus, à l'occasion de l'évocation des côtes de Carie, quantité de distance en stades sont données, de cette côte aux Cyclades et aux îles du Dodécanèse, ainsi que d'une île à l'autre, en particulier à partir de Rhodes et de Délos.[4] Enfin le *Stadiasme*, tel qu'il nous est parvenu, comporte des circumnavigations détaillées de Chypre et de la Crète.

Dans la préface, l'auteur anonyme qualifie lui-même son ouvrage de *Stadiasme* ou de *Périple de la Grande Mer*; mais les Modernes ont pris l'habitude de l'appeler *Stadiasme*, frappés qu'ils sont du très grand nombre d'évaluations de distances en stades qu'il contient. Au reste, comme l'a observé récemment G. Uggeri,[5] le traité «Sur les ports» de Timosthène de Rhodes, qui fut amiral sous Ptolémée II, a été assurément «la matrice» de notre *Stadiasme*. Or il avait tiré de son grand ouvrage un «Bréviaire des distances en stades».[6] Quant à l'expression «Grande Mer» pour désigner la Méditerranée, plus souvent appelée «mer de l'Intérieur» (ἡ ἐντὸς θάλασσα) ou «mer de chez nous» (ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλασσα), elle n'est pas isolée. Arrien dans son *Anabase*[7] rapporte l'expression à Hécatée (*c.* 500 av.J.-C.) et, à une époque tardive, on rencontre son équivalent latin chez Orose[8] (*mare Nostrum quod Magnum generaliter dicitur*) et chez le Ravennate,[9] qui l'oppose à *Oceanus*.

3. Strabon, XVI, 2, 12 (C 753).

4. C'est ce que G. Uggeri, "Portolani romani e carte nautiche: problemi e incognite", G. Laudizi - C. Marangio (éd.), *Porti, approdi e linee di rotta nel Mediterraneo antico* (Università di Lecce, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità, Studi di Filologia e Letteratura 4), Galatina 1998, 35, appelle "rosa di peleggi" (cf. pour Délos la fig. 2, p. 36, et pour Rhodes la fig. 3, p. 37).

5. Uggeri, *op. cit.*, 38.

6. Marcien d'Héraclée, *Epitome Peripli Menippei*, I, 3, dans C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci minores*, 1, Paris 1855, 566.

7. Arrien, *Anabase*, II, 16, 5; cf. G. Nenci, *Hecataei Milesii Fragmenta*, Florence 1954, 37, fragm. 30. Sur la dénomination, cf. V. Burr, *Nostrum mare. Ursprung und Geschichte der Namen des Mittelmeeres und seiner Teilmeere im Altertum*, Stuttgart 1932, 95, 121.

8. Orose, I, 2, 3; cf. aussi I, 2, 8 et 86 (dans ce dernier cas, la Grande Mer est opposée à l'Océan).

9. Éd. M. Pinder - G. Parthey, *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica*, Berlin 1860, I, 2, p. 6; I, 3, p. 7; I, 16, p. 36, etc.

L'œuvre contient essentiellement des indications destinées au navigateur et, dans l'Antiquité, c'est celle qui mérite le plus le nom de «portulan».[10] D. Marcotte[11] a fort bien défini pour l'essentiel ces indications: «distances exprimées en stades, description sommaire de la morphologie côtière, précisions sur le type et la qualité des installations portuaires, sur les vents dominants, sur les manœuvres à effectuer.» On ne doit pas s'attendre à y trouver des données sur l'arrière-pays et, au contraire d'Agatharchide, l'auteur ne s'intéresse pas à l'ethnographie.

Déjà dans son édition de 1855, C. Müller ne manque pas de signaler[12] que dans le manuscrit de Madrid le *Stadiasme* avait été copié à la suite d'un *Diamerismos*, ou division de l'oecoumène entre les descendants des trois fils de Noë, accompagné de listes de montagnes et de fleuves célèbres. Mais il n'en tira pas argument pour l'attribution du *Stadiasme*. Aussi bien les deux œuvres, anonymes, paraissent a priori de nature bien différente. Dans sa préface[13] aux *Geographi Graeci minores*, observant que l'auteur du *Stadiasme* fait partir d'Alexandrie la description du littoral méditerranéen de la Libye, puis celle du littoral méditerranéen de l'Asie, C. Müller en déduisait qu'il s'était inspiré avant tout de «quelque auteur alexandrin» (*geographum aliquem Alexandrinum prae ceteris secutus*). Pour diverses raisons, il penchait[14] pour une datation tardive de l'œuvre, en tout cas postérieure à l'époque sévérienne et sûrement antérieure au règne de Constantin, et plus précisément sans doute de la seconde moitié du IIIe siècle.

Au début du XXe siècle cependant, A. Bauer[15] put démontrer que le *Diamerismos* du manuscrit de Madrid devait être attribué à saint Hippolyte et constituait une partie de sa *Chronique*. Sur la base d'une étude syntaxique et stylistique, il proposa d'attribuer aussi au même auteur le *Stadiasme*, qui aurait correspondu en quelque sorte sur le plan spatial à la *Chronique* sur le plan temporel. Le tout aurait été publié par Hippolyte en 234/235. Ce point de vue fut exposé avec une première

10. Uggeri, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4), 33: "si tratta dell'unico portolano vero e proprio, che ci sia pervenuto dal mondo antico".

11. D. Marcotte, *Les géographes grecs*, 1, Paris 2000, introduction, L.

12. Müller, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6), annotations pp. 427-428.

13. *Ibid.*, *Prolegomena*, cxxiii, § 201.

14. *Ibid.*, *Proleg.*, cxxvii-cxxviii, § 210-211.

15. A. Bauer, "Die Chronik des Hippolytos", *Mélanges Nicole*, Genève 1905, 1-9.

édition de la *Chronique* fondée sur le *Matritensis* 121.[16] Dans cette même édition, O. Cuntz, dans un excursus remarquable,[17] confirmait l'attribution du *Stadiasme* à Hippolyte, ou du moins son incorporation à la *Chronique*. Par la suite, le texte du *Stadiasme*, qui avait été revu de près sur le manuscrit par Cuntz,[18] fut à nouveau édité par A. Bauer en 1929[19] dans les œuvres complètes d'Hippolyte; puis cette édition, révisée par R. Helm, parut en 1955 sous une forme améliorée.[20] C'est à ce jour l'édition la plus recommandable, bien que celle de C. Müller demeure, après un siècle et demi, la plus utilisée par les historiens de l'Antiquité, sans doute parce que les spécialistes de la navigation, comme ceux de la géographie antique, ne recherchent pas spontanément ce portulan dans une collection patrologique, alors même que l'attribution à Hippolyte est discutée et discutable.

Risquons ici quelques observations, faites d'ailleurs bien avant nous.[21] D'une part l'intégration du *Stadiasme* à l'œuvre d'Hippolyte ne repose que sur une juxtaposition codicologique avec le *Diamerismos*, la commune présence d'une formule d'introduction assez banale et quelques considérations syntaxiques et stylistiques auxquelles d'autres peuvent être opposées. D'autre part, après l'époque d'Hippolyte, le *Stadiasme* a connu des vicissitudes dans la tradition, qui lui semblent propres. Ainsi l'emploi de l'accusatif après ἀπό indûment normalisé dans l'édition de Müller, indique à peu près certainement une touche byzantine. Mais quand bien même on admettrait que le *Stadiasme* a été

16. Idem, *Die Chronik des Hippolytos im Matritensis 121* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 29.1/N. F. 14), Leipzig 1905.

17. O. Cuntz, *ibid.*, 243-253.

18. Idem, *ibid.*, 253-276.

19. A. Bauer, éd., *Hippolytus. Werke*, 4: *Die Chronik* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 36), Leipzig 1929, 95-139.

20. R. Helm, éd., *Hippolytus. Werke*, 4: *Die Chronik* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 46), Berlin 1955, 43-69 (§ 240-613).

21. Cf. le point de vue très critique de R. Helm dans l'édition de 1929, citée *supra*, n. 19: Avant-Propos, vii-viii. J. Rougé, "Ports et escales dans l'Empire tardif", *La navigazione mediterranea nell'alto Medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 25), Spolète 1978, 102, refuse l'attribution du *Stadiasme* à Hippolyte. Pour notre part, sans nier la vraisemblance d'une intégration, nous ne pouvons considérer que les liens unissant le *Stadiasme* à la *Chronique* sont aussi forts que ceux qui lient l'excursus géographique d'Orose aux *Historiae aduersus paganos* (*contra* Marcotte, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 11], liii).

incorporé dans la *Chronique*, il n'en résulterait nullement que le texte de celui-ci fût d'Hippolyte. Il peut s'agir d'un portulan, actualisé éventuellement çà et là, mais fondamentalement plus ancien. On a parfois supposé[22] que le *Stadiasme* admet comme source immédiate le *Périple de la mer Intérieure* de Ménippe de Pergame, écrit peu avant 25 avant J.-C.[23] En tout cas, le *Stadiasme* fait état de Césarée de Palestine, ainsi nommée en l'honneur d'Auguste par Hérode sensiblement après la date de rédaction du *Périple* de Ménippe. Selon A. Diller,[24] ce serait, dans cet opuscule, le fait daté avec certitude le plus tardif.

Dans un ouvrage tout à fait remarquable,[25] J. Rougé a proposé en 1966 de situer le *Stadiasme* aux environs de 200 de notre ère, un peu avant l'organisation du port de *Lepcis Magna* par Septime Sévère, parce qu'il affirme que cette ville est dépourvue de port.[26] Mais quelques années plus tard, A. Di Vita[27] objectait à très juste titre que *Lepcis* avait déjà été dotée d'un port intérieur par Néron, vers 61/62 de notre ère. C'est donc à une époque plus haute que nous transporte l'évocation du *Stadiasme*: «En venant du large, tu verras une ville près de la mer, une dune blanche et une plage. Cette ville est entièrement blanche et elle n'a pas de port. Jette l'ancre en toute sécurité dans les parages du cap Hermée [l'actuelle pointe de Homs]. Cette ville est appelée *Leptis*». Convaincu par l'étude de A. Di Vita, J. Rougé[28] s'est alors rallié à une datation du *Stadiasme* du début de l'ère chrétienne. Il n'est donc plus possible de voir, comme C. Müller,[29] dans le témoignage de ce portulan la preuve que le port de *Lepcis* s'est ensablé au milieu du IIIe siècle. En

22. Cf. Marcotte, *op. cit.*, lii, qui ne prend pas lui-même position.

23. Uggeri, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4), 46.

24. A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (Philological Monographs published by the American Philological Association 14), Lancaster, Penn. - Oxford 1952, 150, n. 10.

25. J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'Empire romain*, Paris 1966, 25.

26 *Stad. maris Magni*, 93, éd. C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci minores*, 1, Paris 1855, 462.

27. A. Di Vita, "Un passo dello *Σταδιασμὸς τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης* ed il porto ellenistico di Leptis Magna", P. Gros *et al.* (éd.), *Mélanges de philosophie, de littérature et d'histoire ancienne offerts à Pierre Boyancé* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 22), Paris - Rome 1974, 229-249.

28. Rougé, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 21), 102.

29. Müller, *Geographi Graeci minores*, 1, cxxvii-cxxviii.

tout cas, l'ensablement est prouvé pour l'époque byzantine[30]. Par ailleurs, A. Di Vita[31] pense avoir mis en évidence l'existence d'un petit port d'époque hellénistique à l'est de la pointe de Homs, à 3 km à l'ouest de l'embouchure de l'oued Lebda, dont le vestige archéologique le plus clair est constitué par les restes d'un wharf en calcaire d'origine locale. Toutefois, selon D. Mattingly,[32] l'emploi de ce calcaire à *Lepcis* ne peut guère être antérieur à l'époque d'Auguste, et ce port s'est envasé au IIe siècle de notre ère. En fait, les structures repérées résulteraient de l'aménagement d'un mouillage, plutôt que de l'existence d'un port, et dateraient du début de l'Empire. L'on comprend que le *Stadiasme*[33] ne parle, au long du cap Hermée, que d'un mouillage pour de petits navires, donc de second ordre,[34] mais en l'occurrence protégé du vent du nord-ouest.

Nous pensons même que certaines données du *Stadiasme* peuvent être beaucoup plus anciennes que l'époque d'Auguste. Nous voudrions en donner une illustration qui nous semble remarquable. Arrivé donc aux autels des Philènes, au fond de la Grande Syrte, le *Stadiasme*[35] indique: «jusqu'à ce promontoire s'étend le territoire des Cyrénéens». Puis, évoquant la première localité située sur le littoral à l'ouest des Autels, à savoir Epêros (En-Naïm)[36] pourvu d'un port pour les petits navires, il signale que là se trouve le poste de garde, ou la garnison, «des barbares». C. Müller[37] estimait que nous sommes ainsi renvoyés à une époque où la puissance romaine est vacillante (dans son esprit,

30. A. Laronde, "Nouvelles recherches archéologiques dans le port de Lepcis Magna", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1994) 991-1006. Dès 1988, A. Laronde a eu le mérite de mettre en évidence l'existence d'un accès complexe au port intérieur par un bassin en forme de "port-canal", abrité efficacement par un môle s'avançant en direction du nord-est et comportant un retour perpendiculaire à son extrémité. Le port de *Lepcis* offrait donc plus de possibilités qu'on ne le croyait auparavant, cf. A. Laronde, "Le port de Lepcis Magna", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1988) 337-353.

31. Di Vita, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 27), 238-249.

32. D. Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, Londres 1995, 118.

33. *Stad. maris Magni*, 93-94, p. 462.

34. Sur la hiérarchie des mouillages, cf. Rougé, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 25), 110-115 (ici, 113 et n. 8).

35. *Stad. maris Magni*, 84, p. 457.

36. Idem, 86, p. 458.

37. C. Müller, *ibid.*, cxxviii.

l'Antiquité tardive). Mais le *Stadiasme*, en fait, prend acte de l'existence d'un établissement militaire permanent qui n'a rien à voir avec l'intrusion de tribus nomades, dont l'agressivité au reste s'affirme seulement à partir du milieu du IVe siècle de notre ère. De toute évidence, l'existence de ce fortin est mise en rapport avec la limite entre deux pouvoirs que constituaient traditionnellement les Autels des Philènes.[38] Tout s'éclaire si nous nous tournons vers Strabon, qui s'inspire ici surtout des *Géographoumènes* d'Artémidore (fin du IIe siècle av.J.-C.). Strabon[39] nous apprend en effet qu'à l'est des Autels, dans une situation à peu près symétrique de celle d'Epêros par rapport à ceux-ci, le premier lieu-dit qu'il mentionne, Automala (Bou Sceéfa, à 8 km à l'ouest d'El Agheila), est un fortin muni d'une garnison. Les grands nomades de l'Antiquité tardive n'auraient eu aucune raison de s'enfermer dans un bastion à Epêros pour respecter et faire respecter une limite entre provinces! Le plus vraisemblable est que la garnison d'Automala soit cyrénéenne, ce qui nous reporte antérieurement à 96 av.J.-C., date du testament de Ptolémée Apion léguant la Cyrénaïque à la République romaine. Automala(x) est précisément mentionné par la célèbre inscription[40] qui nous a transmis la constitution de Cyrène, comme la limite occidentale du territoire cyrénéen; et dans un autre passage, qui semble cette fois provenir d'Eratosthène, Strabon[41] fait d'Automala, par hendiadyin, la limite entre la Cyrénaïque et «l'autre partie de la Libye».

38. Salluste, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, XIX, 3; LXXIX. Cf. déjà Polybe, III, 39, 2.

39. Strabon, XVII, 3, 20 (C 836). Le fait que Ptolémée, *Géogr.*, IV, 4, 2, éd. C. Müller, 664, signale aussi le fortin d'Automalax n'implique pas qu'il était en activité à l'époque romaine, même s'il a pu servir alors au contrôle des pistes du désert (cf. Strabon, XVII, 3, 23 [C 838]). Sur le fort de Bou Sceéfa, cf. R. G. Goodchild, "Arae Philaenorum and Automalax", *Papers of the British School at Rome* 20 (1952) 94-110.

40. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, IX, 1, ligne 3, et XVIII, 724.

41. Strabon, II, 5, 20 (C 123), d'après Eratosthène (vers 200 avant notre ère). L'assertion du même Strabon, XVII, 3, 20 (C 836), selon laquelle la Tour d'Euphrantas (25 km à l'est de Sirte ou Sirte même?) a été la frontière entre les Carthaginois et le pays de Cyrène "sous Ptolémée" (*sic*), a fait couler beaucoup d'encre. S'agit-il de Ptolémée I, comme le voudrait, non sans vraisemblance, A. Laronde, *Cyrène et la Libye hellénistique*, Paris 1987, 350? Mais quelle source utiliserait dès lors Strabon, en dehors d'Eratosthène et d'Artémidore? A noter qu'immédiatement après, en progressant dans sa description vers le fond de la Grande Syrte, Strabon, *ibid.*, signale que Charax (Medina es-Soltan) a été un comptoir carthaginois.

Pour les Cyrénéens, les «barbares» étaient les non-Grecs. Par conséquent, si la situation évoquée par le *Stadiasme* est antérieure à 146 av.J.-C., la garnison du fortin d'Epêros sert Carthage. Strabon[42] juge encore bon de rappeler l'existence d'un comptoir carthaginois à Charax (Medina es-Soltan), à quelque 40 km à l'ouest d'Automala (Bou Sceéfa) et, d'après le *Stadiasme*,[43] à 150 stades au delà d'Epêros. Les Carthaginois exportaient là du vin par mer et importaient du silphium. Mais si l'allusion se rapporte à la période 146-96 avant notre ère, les gardiens et suzerains des Emporia sont alors les rois numides, successeurs de Massinissa. C'est probablement déjà dans le dessein de soustraire les Emporia à Carthage que Massinissa avait noué des relations étroites avec Ptolémée VIII,[44] qui régnait depuis 163 av.J.-C. sur la Cyrénaïque. On peut admettre, avec une moindre vraisemblance, qu'après la chute de Carthage, les rois numides aient entretenu une garnison «barbare» à Epêros. Encore conviendrait-il d'observer que dès environ 110 av.J.-C., *Lepcis Magna*, le plus puissant des Emporia, devenue alliée et amie du peuple romain,[45] jouit d'une autonomie de fait à l'égard des rois de Numidie.[46] Entre 110 et 96, il est encore possible qu'une petite garnison ait fait respecter l'indépendance des Emporia, de Charax à *Lepcis*, sinon jusqu'à la Petite Syrte, face au pouvoir cyrénéen et avec l'accord de Rome. Quoi qu'il en soit de cette incertitude, il demeure que la situation évoquée, loin d'attester la «décadence» de l'Empire romain, est très antérieure à celui-ci.

Autre donnée archaïque dans le *Stadiasme*: *Oea* (actuelle Tripoli) est appelée[47] *Makaraia*, que l'on peut décomposer en *Makar-Oia*, *Oia* étant une variante d'*Oea*. La formule *WY'T M'QR* (Oiat Makar) se lit sur des monnaies à légende néopunique attribuées à *Oea*.[48] Makar pourrait être

42. Cf. la fin de la note précédente.

43. *Stad. maris Magni*, 87, p. 458.

44. Ptolémée VIII Evergète II fut reçu à la cour de Massinissa: Athénée, *Deipn.*, VI, 15, 229d et XII, 16, 518f-519a; cf. T. Kotula, "Une conférence antique au sommet: épisode méconnu de l'histoire de la Numidie et de l'Égypte hellénistique", *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis* 497/*Antiquitas* 9 (1983) 95-106 (en polonais); W. Huss, *Geschichte der Karthager*, Munich 1985, 431, n. 48.

45. Salluste, *Bell. Iug.*, LXXVII, 2.

46. Idem, *ibid.*, LXXVIII, 4-5.

47. *Stad. maris Magni*, 98-99, p. 463-464.

48. L. Müller, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique*, 2, Copenhague 1861, 23, n°. 41-45. Récemment, J. Alexandropoulos, *Les monnaies de l'Afrique antique (400 av.J.-*

le nom d'une divinité poliade, étant donné que Makêris était le nom de l'Héraklès égypto-punique d'après Pausanias.[49] Nous avons récemment mis en évidence[50] qu'on devait restituer *Macaraia ou Macaroea* dans un passage mutilé de Pomponius Méla.[51] *Habromacte, Phyre* doit en effet être lu *Habro[tonon]* (autre nom de *Sabrata*), *Mac[araia]*, *Tephyre*, ce qui correspond à la séquence que le *Stadiasme* présente dans l'ordre inverse: Ta Aphora, Makaraia, Sabratha. Nous ne savons s'il y a une source commune à Méla et au *Stadiasme*. Mais nous avons montré que ce passage devait remonter à une description très ancienne de la côte de la future Tripolitaine, renouant peut-être par Eratosthène avec Timosthène. Remarquons d'autre part que, précisément dans la *Chronique*[52] d'Hippolyte, on trouve mentionné, entre Numides et Nasamons, un peuple dont A. Bauer restitue le nom en Makarioi. Si l'on ajoute que les Magartai de la *Chronique* ou Magartae du *Liber Generationis*, cités avant les Numides,[53] peuvent être rapprochés de Megerthis, lieu-dit côtier situé par le *Stadiasme*[54] immédiatement à l'est de Makaraia, on tient peut-être entre la *Chronique* d'Hippolyte et le *Stadiasme* un point de contact d'autant plus intéressant qu'on ne trouve, à notre connaissance, nulle part ailleurs que dans la tradition du *Diamerismos*, partie intégrante de la *Chronique*, mention des Makarioi d'Afrique et des Magartai.

Faut-il aussi ranger sous la rubrique des archaïsmes la mention à

C. - 40 ap.J.-C.), Toulouse 2000, 267-268, voit dans *M'QR* un nom de suffète ou de magistrat, ce qui nous semble faire peu de cas du témoigne du *Stadiasme*.

49. Pausanias, X, 17, 2. Des Libyens Macares, nomades (*uagi*), sont attestés par Corippus. *Johannide*, II, 62, en Tripolitaine, semble-t-il, cf. V. Zarini, *Berbères ou barbares? Recherches sur le livre second de la* Johannide *de Corippus*, Nancy 1997, 157.

50. J. Desanges, "Géographie de l'Afrique et philologie dans deux passages de la *Chorographie* de Méla", *L'Africa Romana* 11 (1996) 345-346.

51. Méla, I, 34.

52. A. Bauer, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 16), § 132, p. 74. Il faut restituer leur nom d'après la *Chronique alexandrine* de 315, dans *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi* 9 (= *Chronica Minora* 1), 101.

53. A. Bauer, *op. cit.*, 132, p. 74; *Liber Generationis*, 132, dans *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, *ibid.* On trouve Magartei dans la *Chronique alexandrine*, 105, *ibid.*

54. *Stad. maris Magni*, 97-98, p. 463. Il doit s'agir de *Megradi, uilla Aniciorum*, située par l'*Itinerarium Antonini*, 62, 3, éd. O. Cuntz, 9, à 25 milles d'*Oea* sur la route de *Lepcis Magna*.

Carthage, en ville, d'un πύργος (tour, rempart, citadelle?)?[55] S'il s'agit d'une façon quelque peu alambiquée de désigner la colline de Byrsa et ses monuments, hypothèse à laquelle se résigne C. Müller,[56] la Byrsa punique, qui était une citadelle, conviendrait mieux que la Byrsa romaine, plateau arasé pour y recevoir un forum[57] dans une ville qui demeura ouverte jusqu'en 425 de notre ère.[58]

Considérons à présent la courte évocation par le *Stadiasme*[59] de Meninx, caractérisée comme étant l'île des Lotophages, et de sa ville homonyme (mais le *Stadiasme* signale dans l'île l'existence de plusieurs autres villes, sans toutefois les nommer). Nous constatons qu'il n'est question ni d'île, ni de ville du nom de Girba. Or dans la *Chronique*, l'île de Girba est signalée,[60] avec Kerkina et Galatê (La Galite), même si ailleurs[61] il est fait état de Mênis. Cette attestation du nom de Girba pour désigner l'île, en 234/235 de notre ère, est la plus ancienne à notre connaissance. On sait que, dans le courant du IIIe siècle de notre ère, l'ancien nom de *Meni(n)x* fut délaissé au profit de *Girba*, peut-être parce que le port de *Meninx* (El-Kantara) s'ensablait et devenait moins actif que le port de *Girba*, situé au nord de l'île sur une mer plus libre.[62] Quoi qu'il en soit, il apparaît ici que la *Chronique* donne le nouveau nom de l'île, alors que le *Stadiasme* ne connaît que l'ancien et son escorte de Lotophages.

Toutes ces considérations tendraient, semble-t-il, à aligner à peu près la date de la documentation mise en œuvre dans le *Stadiasme* sur celle des géographes grecs de l'époque hellénistique, tels Eratosthène,

55. *Stad. maris Magni*, 124, p. 471.

56. C. Müller, *ibid.*, notes au § 124.

57. Présentation claire pour le grand public: S. Lancel, *La Colline de Byrsa à l'époque punique*, Paris 1983, 7-8; cf. pour plus de détails: Idem *et al.*, *Byrsa*, 2, Rome 1982, 379-383 et fig. 613. Sur le forum romain: P. Gros, "Le premier urbanisme de la colonia Julia Carthago", *L'Afrique dans l'Occident romain* (Collection de l'École française de Rome 134), Rome - Paris 1990, 547-573 (notamment 555-557 et fig. 1, p. 571).

58. A. Audollent, *Carthage romaine* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 84), Paris 1901, 154-155.

59. *Stad. maris Magni*, 103, p. 465-466.

60. A. Bauer, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 16), 217, p. 111.

61. Idem, *ibid.*, 153, p. 80.

62. A. Beschaouch, "De l'Africa latino-chrétienne à l'Ifrīqiya arabo-musulmane. Questions de toponymie", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1986) 538-545.

Artémidore et Poseidonios. Il reste cependant, comme l'a récemment souligné D. Marcotte, que[63] «le *Stadiasme* a, dans l'ensemble, une langue qui lui est propre, lourde de vulgarismes tardifs». Un moine byzantin a dû adapter son expression et il n'est pas exclu qu'il ait procédé à quelques adjonctions. C. Müller[64] a depuis longtemps montré que le *Stadiasme* est le résultat d'une élaboration complexe. L'on doit admettre l'existence de plusieurs couches chronologiques dans sa documentation, ce qui rend son utilisation par l'historien très difficile. Ses indications sont à dater en elles-mêmes; elles ne peuvent donc, en règle générale, par leur seule intégration dans l'opuscule concourir à régler des problèmes de chronologie externes. Il arrive parfois qu'un seul toponyme soit cité sous deux formes reflétant sans doute une dualité des sources (§ 52: Ἀπολλωνία/Ἀπολλωνιάς), et très souvent que le texte indique l'équivalence de deux toponymes. Même si l'œuvre a été incorporée par Hippolyte à sa *Chronique*, comme l'ont soutenu A. Bauer et O. Cuntz, il ne fait pas de doute qu'en amont, c'est une rhapsodie qui a connu plusieurs stades d'élaboration,[65] et qu'en aval elle a été l'objet d'une adaptation d'époque byzantine.

Nous évoquerons pour finir le cas de deux villes maritimes célèbres, Utique et Hadrumète, dont le *Stadiasme* dit, de façon un peu inattendue, qu'elles sont dépourvues de port, ou plus exactement de port aménagé (λιμήν).

Utique en effet, selon notre «portulan»,[66] est une ville sans port, mais pourvue d'un σάλος, c'est-à-dire d'un mouillage en pleine mer; et le *Stadiasme* d'exhorter l'utilisateur à la vigilance. En revanche, il vient de signaler,[67] à 24 stades, soit 3 milles avant Utique pour qui vient de Carthage, un port propre à l'hivernage des grands navires, aux *Castra Cornelii*. Ces *Castra*, simple lieu-dit (*locus*) dans la description du littoral de l'*Africa* par Pline l'Ancien,[68] qui pour l'essentiel dépend d'une source

63. Marcotte, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 11), lii.

64. Müller, *Geographi Graeci minores*, 1, Prolegomena, 204, p. cxxiii-cxxiv.

65. Cf. déjà St. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, 2, Paris 1918, 115, n. 6 (continuant p. 116), repris par L. Poinssot, "Macomades - Iunci", *Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* 81 (1944) 140. En dernier lieu, cf. G. Uggeri, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4), 46.

66. *Stad. maris Magni*, 126, p. 472.

67. Idem, 125, *ibid.*

68. Pline, V, 24.

datable entre 44 et 29 avant notre ère,[69] se sont transformés en une ville (*oppidum*) stipendiaire sous Auguste.[70] Cette agglomération, née à l'emplacement de l'ancien camp de Scipion,[71] est à localiser près du village actuel de Galaat el-Andless, sur un ancien promontoire aujourd'hui éloigné, tout comme Utique, de la mer. Ptolémée[72] en fait encore état. Nous ne savons rien de son devenir par la suite. En tout cas, nous ne lui connaissons pas d'évêque. Son apparente croissance à la fin du Ier siècle avant notre ère pourrait être liée à des déboires maritimes éprouvés par sa grande voisine, Utique. Mais sa fortune aura été éphémère.

Ce n'est pas un, mais des ports, sans aucun doute deux, qu'Appien[73] attribue à Utique à la veille de la troisième guerre Punique, en 149 av.J.-C. Ils sont sûrs (εὐόρμους) et assez amples pour qu'on y débarque une armée. En fait l'adjectif εὔορμος convient surtout à des ports naturels.[74] Ces ports devaient se trouver de part et d'autre du promontoire, aujourd'hui intégré dans les terres, sur lequel était implantée Utique. Les fouilles du XXe siècle ont fait justice des trois bassins artificiels qu'on avait cru pouvoir localiser à l'intérieur de la ville, au siècle précédent.[75] Des centaines de navires de charge pouvaient bien mouiller devant Utique en 49 avant notre ère, selon César;[76] mais le *Bellum Africum*[77] nous apprend que, dans l'hiver 47-46, les Pompéiens ont tiré leur flotte au sec à Utique, ce qui s'accorde bien avec l'absence de port artificiel. Les mouillages naturels d'Utique étaient déjà concurrencés par celui des *Castra Cornelia*, puisqu'en 49, Curion somma les vaisseaux de charge en station à Utique de se porter aux *Castra*.[78] On peut soupçonner que les

69. J. Desanges, dans *Pline l'Ancien, Histoire naturelle, V, 1ère partie (L'Afrique du Nord)*, Paris 1980, 14.

70. Pline, V, 29.

71. Polybe, XIV, 6, 7; Tite-Live, XXIX, 35, 13-14; cf. Gsell, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 65), 3, 219-220; A. Lézine, *Utique*, Tunis 1970, 8-11.

72. Ptolémée, *Géogr.*, IV, 3, 2, éd. C. Müller, 618.

73. Appien, *Pun.*, 75 et 78.

74. Rougé, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 25), 113-115.

75. G. Ville, "Vtica", dans Pauly - Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, suppl. IX, Stuttgart 1962, col. 1881; A. Lézine, "Utique. Notes de topographie", R. Chevallier (éd.), *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à André Piganiol*, 3, Paris 1966, 1241-1255; idem, *Utique*, 13-14.

76. César, *Bell. Ciu.*, II, 25.

77. Ps.-César, *Bell. Afr.*, LXII, 1.

78. Cf. *supra*, n. 76.

parages d'Utique sont devenus rapidement moins propices au mouillage que ceux des *Castra Cornelia*. César[79] signale la présence, en 49 avant notre ère, de marécages qui allongent l'itinéraire terrestre entre les *Castra* et Utique. Selon Pline,[80] qui puise sans doute ici dans son expérience de procurateur équestre en poste dans le *Byzacium* au début du principat de Vespasien, Utique était entourée de marais salants (*Africa circa Vticam construit aceruos salis ad collium speciem*). Le trafic naval, si dense encore à l'époque des guerres civiles,[81] a dû se restreindre considérablement au moins dès le milieu du Ier siècle de notre ère. Au reste, si les naviculaires d'*Hippo Diarrhytus* (Bizerte) et de Carthage ont leur *statio* sur la Place des Corporations d'Ostie,[82] nous ne pouvons reconnaître les vestiges de la *statio* de ceux d'Utique; mais peut-être ne s'agit-il là que de l'effet du hasard qui préside à la conservation des «antiques»!

Qu'en conclure? César[83] mentionne l'existence d'un *portus* à Utique, qu'il oppose à l'agglomération (*oppidum*). Même si *portus* peut parfois désigner un port naturel,[84] le σάλος peu sûr dont fait seulement état le *Stadiasme* nous renvoie à une autre époque. Non point une époque antérieure, puisque le port d'Utique était actif pendant les guerres puniques, mais une époque postérieure, peut-être déjà vers l'origine de notre ère. Seule une meilleure connaissance de l'histoire d'Utique, que l'on peut surtout attendre de l'archéologie, pourrait préciser la chronologie de cette décadence.

Beaucoup plus embarrassant est le cas d'Hadrumète (Sousse). Selon le *Stadiasme*,[85] Hadrumète est dépourvu de port, ou du moins de port aménagé (ἀλίμενος). Immédiatement avant[86] a été signalé, à 40 stades d'Hadrumète, un mouillage médiocre (ὕφορμος)[87] à l'abri d'un

79. César, *Bell. Ciu.*, II, 24.

80. Pline, XXXI, 81.

81. Autres références: Ps.-César, *Bell. Afr.*, XXIII, 1; XCVIII, 1; Appien, *B. C.*, II, 95 et 98.

82. P. Romanelli, "Di alcune testimonianze epigrafiche sui rapporti tra l'Africa e Roma", *Cahiers de Tunisie* 8 (1960) fasc. 31, 64-70 et pl. I-VI.

83. César, *B. C.*, I, 31.

84. Rougé, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 25), 118, citant notamment Virgile, *Aen.*, I, 159-169.

85. *Stad. maris Magni*, 116, p. 470.

86. Idem, 115, p. 469-470.

87. Rougé, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 25), 115.

promontoire flanqué de deux petites îles, sans doute le Ras Monastir. En le doublant, on est en vue de la ville.

Dans la monographie qu'il a consacrée à Hadrumète, L. Foucher[88] a montré que cette cité punique n'a pas possédé de port intérieur, alors qu'au XIXe siècle les érudits lui avaient prêté plusieurs bassins. En revanche, son port extérieur fut fermé par des jetées et défendu par des tours. Partiellement creusé de main d'homme, il pouvait être qualifié sans abus de «cothon».[89] Attius Varus, un des chefs du parti pompéien, y trouva refuge, en 47 avant notre ère, avec plus de 50 navires.[90] Strabon,[91] d'après Artémidore, y signale au passé la présence de chantiers navals, datant sans doute de la période punique. Par la suite, selon L. Foucher,[92] le port s'ensabla parce qu'il était mal protégé de la houle du nord-est et que les travaux d'entretien furent sans doute insuffisants. En tout cas, à l'époque byzantine, un cimetière s'étendait sur une partie du quartier portuaire,[93] ce qui dénote assurément un ralentissement de l'activité du port. Mais quand commença à se manifester celui-ci? On ne peut que grouper quelques indices, parfois contradictoires. Comme l'a noté L. Foucher,[94] la *statio* d'Hadrumète n'est pas attestée à Ostie, sur la Place des Corporations. Mais nous ne connaissons pas l'attribution de toutes les *stationes*! En revanche, l'*Itinerarium Maritimum*[95] compte Hadrumète parmi les ports africains de destination pour les navires venant de la région de Lilybée (Marsala), en Sicile occidentale. Or c'est certainement un texte tardif, même si l'on peut hésiter à le dater entre *circa* 450 et 535 de notre ère, en suivant G. Uggeri.[96] Un autre indice

88. L. Foucher, *Hadrumetum*, Tunis 1964, 80-83; plan sommaire dans idem, "Projet d'enquête sur les ports de Byzacène au début du IIIe siècle", *Cahiers de Tunisie* 12 (1964) fasc. 45-46, 45.

89. Ps.-César, *Bell. Afr.*, LXII, 5; LXIII, 4-5; dans ce dernier passage, le *salum* situé en deçà du promontoire (Ras Monastir), pour qui vient du sud, est opposé au *cothon* d'Hadrumète, à l'extérieur duquel des navires de charge mouillaient. César ne peut rien tenter contre les navires réfugiés dans le cothon. Il apparaît que celui-ci était tout de même bien protégé.

90. Idem, *ibid.*, LXII, 1, et LXIII, 4.

91. Strabon, XVII, 3, 16 (C 834).

92. Foucher, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 88), 83.

93. Idem, *ibid.*, 320.

94. Idem, *ibid.*, 213.

95. *Itin. marit.*, 493, 11, dans O. Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana*, 1, Leipzig 1929, 78.

96. Uggeri, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4), 52-56.

d'activité du port assez tardive pourrait être la présence à Hadrumète d'une épitaphe de naviculaire[97] datable entre 320 et 350 de notre ère. Mais le personnage a pu exercer son métier dans des ports voisins. Pour l'époque byzantine enfin, selon Procope,[98] en 533 le préfet de l'armée de reconquête, Archélaos, pouvait affirmer devant Bélisaire l'absence de tout port digne de ce nom entre Carthage et *Iunci* (Bordj Yonga). Mais l'outrance du propos en limite la portée. En sens contraire, notons que, toujours selon Procope,[99] en 544 toute une flottille de navires, il est vrai de faible tonnage d'après le contexte, débarque à Hadrumète.

De quand dater dès lors l'indication du *Stadiasme*? La période punique semble exclue, même si Hannibal, revenant avec son armée d'Italie, a préféré le port de *Leptis*, gagnant ensuite Hadrumète par terre.[100] De même Hadrumète apparaît comme un port actif et d'importance stratégique lors de la Guerre d'Afrique. Reste la très longue période impériale, sur laquelle, somme toute, nous sommes étonnamment mal renseignés. On ne peut se rassurer en considérant que le *Stadiasme* a simplement noté l'absence d'un port «aménagé». En effet le port d'Hadrumète, pour extérieur qu'il semble exclusivement avoir été, n'en avait pas moins été protégé de main d'homme; et si l'on pouvait mouiller devant la ville, on ne voit pas pourquoi le *Stadiasme* ne l'aurait pas dit, alors qu'il vient de signaler un mouillage à l'abri du Ras Monastir, qu'il qualifie seulement d'ὕφορμος. La difficulté du cas a conduit L. Foucher[101] à dater le *Stadiasme* du Ve siècle de notre ère. Assurément cette position n'est pas tenable. Mais il nous semble d'autre part exagéré de qualifier Hadrumète, comme l'a fait J. Rougé,[102] de «port de plage». On hésitera pour autant à attribuer l'étonnante affirmation qu'Hadrumète est dépourvu de port à quelque scribe byzantin. Le port fermé par des jetées une fois ensablé (mais quand?), la situation devenait précaire. Les *Instructions nautiques*, dans l'édition de 1899,[103] parue alors que les grands travaux visant à donner à Sousse un

97. R. Cagnat - A. Merlin - L. Chatelain, *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc)*, Paris 1923, 21, n° 60 (Sousse, catacombes).

98. Procope, *Bell. Vand.*, I, 15, 8.

99. Idem, *ibid.*, II, 23, 22-25.

100. Tite-Live, XXX, 25, 11; erreur probable d'Appien, *Pun.*, 33.

101. Foucher, *Hadrumetum*, 83; idem, "Projet", 39.

102. Rougé, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 25), 134, n. 1.

103. *Instructions nautiques sur le Maroc, l'Algérie et la Tunisie* (Service

port bien abrité étaient à peine achevés, soulignent que la rade est loin d'être bonne et qu'elle est exposée aux vents du Nord et de l'Est. A la lumière d'une documentation archéologique lacunaire et de témoignages littéraires d'interprétation difficile, mais apparemment quelque peu contradictoires, on peut concéder au *Stadiasme* que, somme toute, l'ouverture maritime d'Hadrumète a dû être, à toutes les époques de l'Antiquité, beaucoup moins affirmée qu'on ne serait porté spontanément à le croire, tant il est vrai que Salluste,[104] qui la connaissait, n'avait pas tort de dire de la mer africaine: *saeuom, inportuosum*. Il demeure que la sèche indication de notre portulan s'explique mal si, comme plusieurs indices le donnent à penser, son élaboration est achevée, au plus tard, au milieu du premier siècle de notre ère.*

(*) Nous avons l'agréable devoir de remercier le *Program in Hellenic Studies* de l' Université de Princeton. C'est en effet dans le cadre de ce programme, lors d'un séjour effectué au printemps de 2001 comme Stanley J. Seeger Visiting Fellow, que nous avons eu toutes les facilités pour donner sa forme finale à la présente étude.

hydrographique de la Marine, 801), Paris 1899, 302-304.

104. Salluste, *Bell. Iug.*, XVII, 5.

Ιωάννης Δημητρούκας

Η ΧΡΗΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΒΟΗΘΗΤΙΚΗΣ ΛΕΜΒΟΥ ΣΤΗ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗ ΕΜΠΟΡΙΚΗ ΝΑΥΤΙΛΙΑ (7ος-15ος αι.)

Στα βοηθητικά μέσα της ναυσιπλοΐας, όπως είναι οι λιμενικές εγκαταστάσεις, οι φάροι, οι ναυτικοί οδηγοί (περίπλοι, σταδιοδρομικά, πορτολάνοι, χάρτες) κ.ά., συγκαταλέγεται και η λέμβος των πλοίων. Η ύπαρξη βοηθητικών λέμβων διαπιστώνεται, τόσο στην αρχαία, όσο και στη βυζαντινή ναυσιπλοΐα της εξεταζόμενης εδώ περιόδου. Για τη χρήση της βοηθητικής λέμβου υπάρχουν αναφορές μόνο στο βασικό έργο για την εμπορική ναυτιλία του ύστερου Βυζαντίου.[1] Το θέμα δεν έχει αποτελέσει αντικείμενο ειδικής έρευνας. Την ανάγκη αυτή επιδιώκει να καλύψει η παρούσα μικρή εργασία, η οποία εξετάζει ζητήματα σχετικά με την ονοματολογία, το πλήρωμα, τον εξοπλισμό και τις χρήσεις ή λειτουργίες της λέμβου.

Η βοηθητική λέμβος των αρχαίων εμπορικών πλοίων ονομαζόταν *εφόλκιον* ή *εφολκίς*. Ως συνώνυμοι όροι χρησιμοποιούνταν οι λέξεις *λέμβος, σκάφος, σκάφη, άκατος*. Οι όροι αυτοί με τις παραλλαγές τους επανέρχονται διαρκώς στα λόγια βυζαντινά κείμενα. Οι αντίστοιχοι τεχνικοί όροι της Λατινικής ήταν *scapha* και *barca*. Οι λέμβοι των πλοίων αναφέρονται αρκετές φορές

1. G. Makris, *Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Schiffahrt* (Collana storica di Fonti e Studi 52), Γένουα 1988, 174, 226, 230, 292.

2. Προκόπιος, *Υπέρ των πολέμων*, έκδ. J. Haury - G. Wirth, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, 1-2, Λειψία 1963, V 5, 14-16· V 7, 7-12· V 7, 30· VII 6, 23. Πρβλ. D. Claude, *Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer während des Frühmittelalters. Bericht über ein Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas im Jahre 1980* (Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa 3), Γοττίγγη 1985, 45 κ.εξ.

από τον Προκόπιο σε σχέση με τις επιχειρήσεις του Γοτθικού Πολέμου.[2]

Στα τέλη του 6ου αι., χωρίς να εγκαταλειφθούν οι αρχαιοπρεπείς όροι, υιοθετείται ο τεχνικός όρος *κάραβος*, που παλαιότερα προσδιόριζε έναν τύπο πολεμικού πλοίου. Οι πρώτες μνείες του όρου με τη συγκεκριμένη τεχνική σημασία ανευρίσκονται στο *Λειμωνάριον* του Ιωάννη Μόσχου[3] και στη συλλογή ναυτικών νόμων που είναι γνωστότερη υπό τον τίτλο *Νόμος 'Ροδίων Ναυτικός*. Χαρακτηριστικό για τη γεωγραφική διάδοση του όρου *κάραβος* είναι το γεγονός ότι αυτός εμφανίζεται και στις δυτικές πηγές της εποχής, όπου δηλώνει μικρά σκάφη των ελών και των ποταμών.[4]

Το άρθρο 46 του τρίτου μέρους του Νόμου 'Ροδίων[5] είναι αφιερωμένο στον κάραβο του εμπορικού πλοίου. Στη διεξοδική αυτή αναφορά εξετάζονται οι νομικές συνέπειες, τις οποίες επάγεται η απώλεια του καράβου από αντίξοες καιρικές συνθήκες:

Εάν ο κάραβος σπάσει τα σχοινιά και αποσπασθεί από το πλοίο, στο οποίο ανήκει, και χαθεί μαζί με τους επιβαίνοντες σ' αυτόν και οι τελευταίοι πεθάνουν, τότε ο ναύκληρος να αποδώσει πλήρως στους κληρονόμους (των ναυτών που χάθηκαν) *τον ετήσιο μισθό τους. Και αυτός που σώζει τον κάραβο μαζί με τα ἐφόλκια* (άλλη γραφή: *ἐφόλκαια*) *να τα αποδώσει όπως τα έχει βρει, λαμβάνοντας ως αμοιβή το ένα πέμπτο της αξίας των σωζομένων.*

Πέρα από τη διευκρίνηση της νομικής σχέσης μεταξύ πλοίου και καράβου,[6] ιδιαίτερη σημασία για τον προβληματισμό μας έχει η διακρίβωση της σημασίας του όρου *ἐφόλκια/ἐφόλκαια*. Ο εκδότης του κειμένου[7] ταλαντεύεται αρχικά μεταξύ των σημασιών "πηδάλιο" και "βοηθητική λέμβος", για να προκρίνει εντέλει τη σημασία "πηδάλιο". Αντίθετα, ο Δ. Λέτσιος,[8] ερμηνεύοντας προφανώς τη φράση *καράβους ἐξηρτισμένους* (δηλαδή καράβους εφοδιασμένους με *ἐξαρτία/ξάρτια*) που εμφανίζεται στο άρθρο 11 του τρίτου μέρους του Νόμου Ροδίων, καταλήγει, ορθά κατά την άποψή μου, στο συμπέρασμα ότι ο όρος *ἐφόλκιον* χρησιμοποιείται ως συνώνυμο τοῦ όρου *κάραβος*. Αυτό σημαίνει ότι τα εμπορικά πλοία διέθεταν έναν κάραβο και δύο ή περισσότερα μικρότερα εφόλκια. Προφανώς το συγκεκριμένο χωρίο αντανακλά μία πραγματικότητα προηγούμενων αιώνων, αφού γνωρίζουμε ότι το μέσο μέγεθος των βυζαντινών εμπορικών πλοίων από τον 7ο αι. και εξής ήταν σχετικά μικρό και, άρα, αυτά ήταν αδύνατο να διαθέτουν –ή σπανιότατα διέθεταν– περισσότερες από μία λέμβους.

3. Ιωάννης Μόσχος, *Pratum Spirituale*, έκδ. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 87/3, στήλες 2928-2929.

4. Ισίδωρος Σεβίλλης, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, έκδ. W. M. Lindsay, 1-2, Οξφόρδη 1911, xix, 1, 25 κ.εξ. (στο εξής Ισίδωρος Σεβίλλης, *Etymologiae*).

5. Έκδ. W. Ashburner, *The Rhodian Sea-Law*, Οξφόρδη 1909, 37, 117-118. Πρβλ. D. Letsios, *Νόμος Ροδίων Ναυτικός, Das Seegesetz der Rhodier. Untersuchungen zu Seerecht und Handelsschiffahrt in Byzanz*, Ρόδος 1996, 266.

6. Για το ζήτημα αυτό βλ. Letsios, *Seegesetz*, 95-99.

7. Ashburner, *Sea-Law*, 117.

8. Letsios, *Seegesetz*, 95-99.

Το άρθρο 45 του τρίτου μέρους του Νόμου Ροδίων αναφέρει και τους *ἐπιβαίνοντας* στον κάραβο. Πιθανότατα σε αυτούς ανήκε ο πηδαλιούχος και κυβερνήτης του καράβου, *qui... post navem regebat carapum*, σύμφωνα με τη διατύπωση του Μεγάλου Γρηγορίου.[9] Το πρόσωπο αυτό ταυτίζεται χωρίς αμφιβολία με τον *καραβίτη* που ανήκε στην ιεραρχία του πληρώματος, όπως αυτή καταγράφεται στα πρώτα άρθρα του δευτέρου μέρους του Νόμου Ροδίων. Λαϊκότερη είναι η ονομασία *καραβιάς* που μαρτυρείται στο *Λειμωνάριον* του Ιωάννη Μόσχου.[10] Ας σημειωθεί ότι τα δύο αυτά επαγγελματικά ουσιαστικά επιβιώνουν στη νεοελληνική γλώσσα ως οικογενειακά επώνυμα: *Καραβίτης, Καραβιάς, Καραβίας.*

Ποιες, όμως, ήταν ακριβώς οι λειτουργίες του καράβου με βάση τις μαρτυρίες των πηγών; Ο βίος του Αγίου Νικολάου Σιωνίτη[11] αναφέρει ότι ο άγιος, επιστρέφοντας διά θαλάσσης στη Λυκία από το προσκύνημά του στα Ιεροσόλυμα (τόπος επιβίβασης: Ασκάλων), επιθυμούσε να αποβιβασθεί σε ένα από τα λιμάνια των Μύρων (Φοίνιξ, Τρίστομον, Ανδριάκη), αλλά ο σφοδρός άνεμος δεν επέτρεπε στο ναύκληρο του πλοίου να προσορμισθεί ακίνδυνα στην ακτή. Τότε, αφού ρίχτηκαν οι άγκυρες στη θάλασσα και το πλοίο ακινητοποιήθηκε, ο άγιος μεταφέρθηκε με τον κάραβο στο λιμάνι της Ανδριάκης. Μία παρόμοια λέμβο με μικρή άγκυρα και σκαπτικά εργαλεία διέθετε και το πλοίο που ναυάγησε στο Γιασί Αντά (περί το 624/625). Ο G. Bass και η

9. *Gregorii Magni Dialogi IV*, κεφ. 59, έκδ. U. Moricca (= *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*), Ρώμη 1924, 321.

10. Ιωάννης Μόσχος, *Pratum Spirituale*, κεφ. 76, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 87/3, στήλες 2928-2929.

11. G. Heinrich, *Hagios Nikolaos. Der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*, 1, Λειψία - Βερολίνο 1913, 31-32.

ομάδα του που ερεύνησαν το ναυάγιο πιθανολογούν ότι με τα σκαπτικά εργαλεία οι επιβαίνοντες στον κάραβο διεύρυναν τα στόμια των πηγών, για να εξασφαλίζουν πόσιμο νερό για το πλήρωμα του πλοίου.[12]

Ένα απόσπασμα από την υστεροβυζαντινή συλλογή των *Θαυμάτων των Αγίων Αναργύρων* (χρονολογείται περί το 1300)[13] επιβεβαιώνει τη χρησιμότητα των καράβων ή εφολκίων για το πλοίο κοντά στα λιμάνια. Ένα πλοίο της Μονής Κοσμιδίου, ενώ πλέει κατάφορτο με εμπορεύματα στο χώρο του πορθμού του Ελλησπόντου, χάνει την *ἐφολκάδα* (από το *ἐφολκίς* υπό την επίδραση του *ὁλκάς*) του στη διάρκεια μιας αιφνίδιας και σφοδρής τρικυμίας μαζί με το μειράκιον, στο οποίο είχαν ανατεθεί καθήκοντα χειριστή των *οἰάκων* της εφολκάδος, δηλαδή πηδαλιούχου. Η εφολκάς είχε καθελκυσθεί στη θάλασσα, για να απελευθερώσει χώρο για περισσότερα εμπορεύματα. Ο συντάκτης των *Θαυμάτων*, σχολιάζοντας τη χρησιμότητά της, επισημαίνει ότι *η εφολκάς είναι άγκυρα σωτηρίας κοντά στα λιμάνια*. Περισσότερο διαφωτιστικό είναι το σχόλιο μιας δυτικής πηγής, του Ισιδώρου, επισκόπου Σεβίλλης: *Barca est quae cuncta navis commercia ad litus portat*.[14]

Μία άλλη ομάδα πηγών για το θέμα μας αντιπροσωπεύουν οι βυζαντινές ταξιδιωτικές περιγραφές. Οι μαρτυρίες τους είναι, εννοείται, περισσότερο αξιόπιστες και συγκεκριμένες από τις πληροφορίες των αγιολογικών κειμένων. Το πλοίο με το οποίο ο Θεόδωρος Δαφνοπάτης επέστρεψε από τις Πύλες της Βιθυνίας στην Κωνσταντινούπολη κατά το πρώτο μισό του 10ου αι. (ακριβέστερα προ του 945) διέθετε κωπήλατη *ἐφολκίδα*, την οποίαν οι ναύτες καθέλκυσαν στη θάλασσα, προσπαθώντας να ρυμουλκήσουν με αυτήν το πλοίο και να το οδηγήσουν στο λιμάνι που βρισκόταν κοντά στο ακρωτήριο Ακρίτας της Βιθυνίας, ενώ ο σφοδρός αντίθετος άνεμος το απωθούσε προς το πέλαγος.[15] Αν και στο χώρο της Προποντίδας χρησιμοποιούσαν συνήθως πλοία μικρού μεγέθους (*πορθμεῖα*, σύμφωνα με μία επιστολή του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού),[16] το πλοίο με το οποίο ο Θεόδωρος διέπλευσε τη σύντομη αυτή απόσταση πρέπει να ήταν κάπως μεγάλο. Αυτό θα ήταν σύμφωνο και με το σχόλιο μιας επιστολής του Νικηφόρου Ουρανού: "*ἕπονται ταῖς μεγάλαις ναυσὶ τὰ ἐφόλκια*".[17]

Μία ανάλογη διαδικασία ρυμούλκησης περιγράφει και ο Θωμάς Μάγιστρος στην πρεσβευτική έκθεσή του για τον *ἀνάπλουν* προς την Κωνσταντινούπολη κατά το έτος 1310.[18] Το πλοίο, στο οποίο επέβαινε ο ρήτορας, δεν μπορούσε να βγει από το λιμάνι ενός μικρού νησιού (πιθανώς του Πελαγοννησιού), όπου είχε καταφύγει, εξαιτίας της άπνοιας. *Τότε*, γράφει ο Θωμάς, *ἡ ἅμαξα τοῦ βοός*, δηλαδή το ακάτιον του πλοίου (η φράση παραπέμπει στη μαρτυρούμενη από τη Σούδα[19] παροιμιώδη έκφραση *ἅμαξα τὸν βοῦν ἕλκει*) *απέδειξε την πραγματική αξία της: το ακάτιον δεν συρόταν πίσω από το πλοίο κατά την κρατούσα ναυτική συνήθεια, αλλά προηγούμενο από αυτό, με τα κουπιά του, όπως αετός με τα φτερά του, έσυρε το πλοίο που ακολουθούσε πειθήνια.* Αυτό γινόταν βεβαίως έως τη στιγμή που έπνευσε ευνοϊκός άνεμος και τερματίσθηκε η διαδικασία της ρυμούλκησης. Βοηθητική λέμβο διέθετε και το πλοίο με το οποίο επέστρεψε ο ρήτορας στη Θεσσαλονίκη, ένα μεγάλο εμπορικό, κατάφορτο με εμπορεύματα. Μόνο που αυτή τη φορά η λέμβος ήταν στερεωμένη με ανθεκτικά (*ἀρρήκτα* στο κείμενο) σχοινιά στο κατάστρωμα του πλοίου, για να μην παρασυρθεί από τα πελώρια κύματα, που σάρωναν το κατάστρωμα στη διάρκεια μιας σφοδρής θαλασσοταραχής.

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12. F. H. van Doorninck, Jr., "Byzantium, Mistress of the Sea: 330-641", στο: G. F. Bass (επιμ.), *A History of Seafaring Based on Underwater Archaeology*, Λονδίνο 1972, 133-158, εδώ 143.

13. L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, Λειψία - Βερολίνο 1907, 202-203. Πρβλ. *Saint Thècle, Saints Côme et Damian, Saints Cyr et Jean, Saint George*, μτφρ.- σημ. A.-J. Festugière, Παρίσι 1971, 204-205.

14. Ισίδωρος Σεβίλλης, *Etymologiae*, xix, 1, 19.

15. Θεόδωρος Δαφνοπάτης, *Επιστολαί*, έκδ. J. Darrouzès - L. G. Westerinck, *Théodore Daphnopatès. Correspondance*, Παρίσι 1978, 205, 78-79: "*καὶ δὴ καθέντες οἱ ναῦται τὴν ἐφολκίδα ἐπειρῶντο κώπαις τὸ πλοῖον ἐγκαθορμίζειν*".

16. Μιχαήλ Ψελλός, *Επιστολαί*, έκδ. E. Kurtz - F. Drexl, *Michaelis Pselli scripta minora*, 2, Μιλάνο 1941, 15, επιστολή αρ. 13. Το πορθμείο είχε μόλις τρεις ναύτες ως πλήρωμα και μετέφερε 13 επιβάτες.

17. Νικηφόρος Ουρανός, *Επιστολαί*, έκδ. J. Darrouzès, *Épistoliers byzantins du Xe s.*, Παρίσι 1960, 230.

18. M. Treu, "Die Gesandtschaftsreise des Rhetors Theodulos Magistros", στο: *Festschrift C. F. W. Müller, 22 Februar 1900*, Λειψία 1900, 8: "*οὐ γὰρ τἀκάτιον ἐξῆπτο τῆς νεώς, ὥς γε ἔθος, ἀλλὰ προσὸν τοῦτο ταῖς κώπαις, καθάπερ πτεροῖς αἰετός, οὕτως ἔπειτά πως ἦγε τὴν ναῦν, οὐκ ἀνταίρουσαν μὲν οὐδοπωστιοῦν, 'ῥᾶστα δ' ἑφεπομένην, καὶ τοῦτ' ἦν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαν, ἀλλά, μέχρις ἐς οὖρον*". Αυτόθι, 16: "*τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐφολκίδος ὑπὸ τοῦ τυρρανοῦντος ἂν ἐξελκυσθείσης ῥοθίου, εἰ μὴ δεσμοῖς ἀρρήκτοις αὐτίκα συνῆπτο.*" Πρβλ. Ι. Δημητρούκας, "Το ταξίδι του ρήτορα Θωμά Μάγιστρου (1310): Μια επανεξέταση", *Σύμμεικτα* 10 (1996) 178-179.

19. Σούδα, έκδ. Ada Adler, *Suidae Lexicon*, 1, Λειψία 1928 (ανατ. Στουτγάρδη 1971), 133, αρ. 1487.

Οι μαρτυρίες που παρουσιάσθηκαν έως εδώ πιστοποιούν τις ποικίλες χρήσεις και λειτουργίες της βοηθητικής λέμβου των βυζαντινών πλοίων. Σε αυτές θα μπορούσε να προστεθεί και η χρησιμοποίηση των λέμβων για αποκόλληση προσαραγμένων πλοίων, όπως αυτή μαρτυρείται από τα *Θαύματα του Αγίου Φωκά του Σινωπέως*.[20] Μένει, όμως, ανοικτό το κρίσιμο ερώτημα κατά πόσον οι λέμβοι χρησιμοποιούνταν και για τη σωτηρία των επιβατών και του πληρώματος σε περίπτωση ναυαγίου. Τα παρατιθέμενα παραδείγματα δεν μαρτυρούν, αλλά ούτε και υπαινίσσονται μία τέτοια λειτουργία. Μπορούμε, όμως, να υποθέσουμε ότι η δυνατότητα αυτή υπήρχε στην περίπτωση που το πλοίο προσάραζε στις ακτές και βυθιζόταν. Όταν, αντίθετα, το πλοίο ναυαγούσε στο πέλαγος, η χρήση της λέμβου ως σωστικού μέσου εξαρτώταν αποκλειστικά και μόνον από το μέγεθός της, που ήταν συνάρτηση του μεγέθους του πλοίου. Και επειδή το μέγεθος των βυζαντινών, αλλά και των ιταλικών πλοίων έως τα μέσα τουλάχιστον του 12ου αι., δεν ήταν ιδιαίτερα μεγάλο, οι δυνατότητες χρήσης της λέμβου ως σωστικού μέσου ήταν έως τότε περιορισμένες.

Η πρώτη μαρτυρία για τη χρήση σωστικής λέμβου σε ναυάγιο προέρχεται από τον Ισπανό μουσουλμάνο Ιμπν Τζομπαΐρ.[21] Η μεγάλη λέμβος του δικάταρτου ή τρικάταρτου και ιδιαίτερα ευρύχωρου γενουατικού πλοίου, με το οποίο ο συγγραφέας, μαζί με άλλους χριστιανούς και μουσουλμάνους προσκυνητές, διέπλευσε τη Μεσόγειο από τον Άγιο Ιωάννη της Άκρας έως τον Πορθμό της Μεσσήνης, χρησιμοποιήθηκε δύο φορές. Την πρώτη φορά το πλήρωμα της λέμβου ανέσυρε το πρόσθιο κατάρτι του πλοίου (*άρτέμων*), που είχε κοπεί στα δύο και το άνω μέρος του είχε καταπέσει στη θάλασσα· τη δεύτερη φορά, όταν το πλοίο προσάραξε στα αβαθή κοντά στις ακτές, στη λέμβο επιβιβάσθηκαν οι επιβάτες του πλοίου (άνδρες, γυναίκες και παιδιά), για να μεταφερθούν στην ακτή. Η προσπάθειά τους τη φορά αυτή αποδείχθηκε μάταιη, καθώς τα κύματα συνέτριψαν τη λέμβο. Παρά ταύτα, οι επιβαίνοντες στο πλοίο κατόρθωσαν να διασωθούν, προτού βυθισθεί το πλοίο, χάρη στις λέμβους που έστειλε από την ακτή ο Γουλιέλμος, βασιλιάς της Σικελίας (13 Νοεμβρίου 1184). Ότι το μεγάλο αυτό εμπορικό πλοίο διέθετε σωστική λέμβο ήταν απόλυτα φυσιολογικό. Τέτοιας χωρητικότητας πλοία, δηλαδή σκάφη μερικών εκατοντάδων τόνων, άρχισαν να ναυπηγούνται στη Μεσόγειο κυρίως από το δεύτερο μισό του 12ου αι. Η πρωτοπορία ανήκε στις ιταλικές ναυτικές πόλεις, η μόδα όμως αυτή πρέπει να επηρέασε και τον καθαυτό βυζαντινό ναυτικό χώρο, όπου έως τότε η χωρητικότητα των πλοίων δεν ήταν ιδιαίτερα μεγάλη.[22] Τα γενικά αυτά εξελικτικά χαρακτηριστικά καθιστούν εύ-

20. Έκδ. Van Den Ven, "Saint Phokas", *Analecta Bollandiana* 30 (1911) 276-277: "*ἄγγελος κυρίου ἥρπασεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Ἀμάσειαν Πόντου· πλοῖον γὰρ φόρτὸν ταμιακὸν βαστάζον ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ λεγομένῃ Κλονίδει ἐπέζευξε πετρῶν· καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἵνα αὐτὸ διασώσῃ... καὶ οἱ ναῦται διαμερίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὰ σκαφίδια διαλαβόντες τὸ πλοῖον αὐτομάτως εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐχώρησαν*".

21. Ibn Jobaïr, *Voyages, troisième partie* (Documents relativs à l'histoire des croisades 6), μτφρ. - σημ. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Παρίσι 1953-1956, 366: "Mais à peu prés au milieu de la nuit du samedi, 19 de rajab, 27 octobre, le vent d'ouest fraîchit sur nous, brisa le fût du mât dit d'artimon et en précipita dans la mer la moitié avec les voiles qui y étaient attachées [...] On ploya les voiles du grand mât, et le navire s'arrêta dans sa course. On avertit par des cris les matelots préposés au canot attaché au navire, et ils réussirent à atteindre la moitié du mât tombé à la mer et à l'en retirer avec les voiles qui y étaient attachées [...] Ils se mirent à ployer la grande voilure et ils fixèrent au mât d'artimon une voile dite dolloun." Αυτόθι, 376: "Les matelots accostèrent la barque de remorque pour emmener ce à quoi ils tenaient le plus, hommes, femmes et bagages, qu'ils réussirent à conduire à terre d'un seul trajet; mais ils ne purent ramener la barque que la vague rejeta brisée sur le rivage [...] Le soleil se lève: des barques arrivent à notre secours, car l'alerte a été donée en ville. Le roi de Sicile, Guillaume, est sorti en personne, avec une troupe de ses gens, pour veiller à l'événement. Nous descendons bien vite dans les barques auxquelles la violence des vagues ne permet point d'accoster le navire. Nous y embarquer, c'est mettre le sceau à notre angoise. Nous trouvons enfin le salut sur la terre ferme". Το δεύτερο γεγονός έλαβε χώρα το Σάββατο, 13 Νοεμβρίου 1184, δηλαδή 26 ημέρες αργότερα. Πρβλ. H. S. Khalilieh, *Islamic Maritime Law. An Introduction* (Studies in Islamic Law and Society 5), Λέιντεν - Βοστώνη - Κολωνία 1998, 34. Ο συγγραφέας αφιερώνει στις σωστικές λέμβους των εμπορικών πλοίων των Αράβων ειδική ενότητα που φέρει τον τίτλο Lifeboats (σσ. 33-36). Για την ονοματολογία και τη χρήση των βοηθητικών λέμβων στον αραβικό ναυτικό χώρο, πρβλ. επίσης S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 1. *Economic Foundations*, Μπέρκλεϋ - Λος Άντζελες - Λονδίνο 1967, 305. Για την αντιστοιχία μεταξύ ελληνικών και αραβικών όρων της λέμβου, βλ. V. Christides, "The Martyrdom of Arethas and the Aftermath: History vs. Hagiography", *Graeco-Arabica* 7-8 (2000) 51-91.

22. Πρβλ. J. H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War. Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 641-1571*, Καίμπριτζ 1988, 29. Ο Νικήτας Χωνιάτης στο ιστορικό του έργο αναφέρει δύο εξαιρετικά μεγάλα ενετικά εμπορικά πλοία. Το πρώτο ήταν τρικάταρτο ιστιοφόρο, διέθετε πολύ ψηλό και μεγάλο σκαρί και μπορούσε να

λογη την υπόθεση ότι οι βοηθητικές λέμβοι των υστεροβυζαντινών πλοίων, με τα οποία ο Θωμάς Μάγιστρος ταξίδευσε μεταξύ των δύο μεγαλύτερων πόλεων της αυτοκρατορίας, ήταν και σωστικές λέμβοι, αν και η δυνατότητα αυτή δεν επιβεβαιώνεται από το κείμενο, καθώς στη διάρκεια του ανάπλου προς την Κωνσταντινούπολη και του κατάπλου προς τη Θεσσαλονίκη δεν παρουσιάσθηκε τέτοια ανάγκη.

Η καλύτερη απόδειξη για τις δυνατότητες των λέμβων των εμπορικών πλοίων του ύστερου Μεσαίωνα παρέχεται από τον *Ευχαριστήριο Λόγο* του Ιωάννη Ευγενικού.[23] Το κείμενο αυτό μας δίνει πολύ χρήσιμες πληροφορίες για τη χωρητικότητα και τον εξοπλισμό των σωστικών λέμβων που συνδύαζαν το πανί, χαρακτηριστικό των στρογγύλων (εμπορικών) πλοίων, με τα κουπιά, χαρακτηριστικό γνώρισμα των μακρών (πολεμικών) πλοίων. Η περιγραφή του Ιωάννη Ευγενικού αφορά το ναυάγιο ενός μεγάλου και νεότευκτου ενετικού πλοίου, στο οποίο επιβιβάστηκε ο διάκονος, αφού εγκατέλειψε τη σύνοδο της Φερράρας, για να επιστρέψει στην πρωτεύουσα της αυτοκρατορίας (φθινόπωρο του 1438). Λίγο προτού το μεγάλο πλοίο βυθισθεί (τη νύκτα της 5ης προς 6η Οκτωβρίου του 1438), ο διάκονος κατόρθωσε να επιβιβασθεί στη λέμβο με 32 άλλους συνεπιβάτες του και το ναύαρχο που επιβιβάσθηκε τελευταίος.[24] Η λέμβος (*ἐφολκίς, ὁλκάς*) συρόταν δεμένη με χοντρό σκοινί πίσω από το πλοίο,[25] διέθετε πηδάλιο και προβλεπόταν να είναι εφοδιασμένη επίσης με κουπιά και πανιά,[26] είχε όμως μείνει χωρίς τον απαραίτητο αυτόν εξοπλισμό, πιθανότατα εξαιτίας της σπουδής με την οποία έγινε η αναχώρηση, προτού περατωθεί η κατασκευή του πλοίου.[27] Στο *Λόγο* η λέμβος χαρακτηρίζεται μερικές φορές και ως *πλοῖον* και αυτό υποδηλώνει με σαφήνεια το σημαντικό μέγεθός της. Οι ελλείψεις στον εξοπλισμό της λέμβου ανάγκασαν τους ναυαγούς να αποσπάσουν σανίδες από το κατάστρωμα της λέμβου και να τις χρησιμοποιήσουν ως πρόχειρα κουπιά.[28] Η οδύσσειά τους διήρκεσε 30 περίπου ώρες. Ύστερα από δραματική περιπλάνηση στο πέλαγος, οι ναυαγοί κατόρθωσαν να διασωθούν, προσορμιζόμενοι στην ανατολική ακτή της Ιταλίας, κοντά στο άλλως άγνωστο λιμάνι Portoloro, νοτίως της Αγκώνας. Ας προσθέσουμε εδώ ότι το ιταλικό εμπορικό διέθετε και άλλες δύο λέμβους που ήταν στερεωμένες στο εσωτερικό του πλοίου, αλλά δεν μπόρεσαν να χρησιμοποιηθούν κατά τον κρίσιμο χρόνο του ναυαγίου. Η μία ήταν μεγαλύτερη και η άλλη ένα απλό κελήτιον,[29] όπως αυτό με το οποίο, πριν από 1000 χρόνια και περισσότερο, η φορτίς του Εβραίου Αμάραντου, στην οποία επέβαινε ο Συνέσιος Κυρήνης, ρυμουλκήθηκε στον χαρίεντα λιμενίσκον Αζάριον στη Μαρμαρική της Βόρειας Αφρικής.[30]

αναπτύξει με ευνοϊκό άνεμο πολύ μεγάλη ταχύτητα. Με αυτό κατόρθωσαν να διαφύγουν οι Βενετοί που κατοικούσαν στην Κωνσταντινούπολη, όταν ο αυτοκράτορας Μανουήλ Α' Κομνηνός δήμευσε την περιουσία τους και διέταξε τη σύλληψή τους (12 Μαρτίου 1171). Το δεύτερο πλοίο ανήκε στο στόλο που ναυπήγησαν οι Βενετοί για τις ανάγκες της Τέταρτης Σταυροφορίας (αρχές του 1203), έφερε το χαρακτηριστικό όνομα *Κόσμος* και χωρούσε 1000 πολεμικούς ίππους και 30.000 οπλίτες, σύμφωνα με τους εμφανώς υπερβολικούς αριθμούς του ιστορικού. Βλ. Νικήτας Χωνιάτης, *Χρονικὴ διήγησις*, έκδ. I. A. van Dieten, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 11/1), 1, Βερολίνο - Νέα Υόρκη 1975, 172, 539. Πρβλ. M. A. Bragadin, "Le navi, loro strutture e attrezzature nell' alto medioevo", στο: *La navigazione mediterranea nell' alto medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo 25), Σπολέτο 1978, 403, όπου συγχέονται τόσο τα δύο γεγονότα, όσο και τα αντίστοιχα δύο πλοία.

23. *Τοῦ νομοφύλακος Ἰωάννου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ λόγος... εὐχαριστήριος*, έκδ. Σ. Π. Λάμπρος, *Παλαιολόγεια και Πελοποννησιακά*, 1, Αθήνα 1912, 271-314.

24. *Λόγος Εὐχαριστήριος*, 293, 4-7: "*Ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῷ τὸν ναύαρχον ὕστατον μόγις ἐπιβῆναι βοὴ πᾶσιν ἤρθη ξυμμιγής, ὡς ἤδη χρεὼν τὸν κάλων διατεμεῖν, ἐξ οὗ δέδεται, μὴ λάθῃ συμβυθίσασα καὶ οὕτως ἔχοντας ἡμᾶς ἡ ὁλκὰς ἢ καί, πρὶν τελέως αὐτὴν καταδῦναι, τῇ τοῦ κλύδωνος σφοδρότητι προσοκείλαντες περιρραγῶμεν αὐτῇ*".

25. *Λόγος Εὐχαριστήριος*, 291, 30-31: "*περί που τὴν πρύμνην, ἐ ᾧ διὰ κάλω ὁ ἐπισυρόμενος τῇ νηῒ λέμβος ἀεὶ προσεξήρτητο.*"

26. *Λόγος Εὐχαριστήριος*, 293, 9: "*ἐπισκευασαμένων τῶν λοιπῶν τὸ πηδάλιον*". Αυτόθι, 295, 8-9: "*μάλιστα ἀπεγνώκειμεν, ὡς οὐκ ἦν κώπαις χρῆσθαι, οὐδε γὰρ ἐνέτυχνον οὖσαι τῷ λέμβῳ, οὐδ' ἱστίοις*".

27. *Λόγος Εὐχαριστήριος*, 283, 26-28: "*καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχεν, ἅτε νεουργής, μὴ ἐπεξειργασμένη περὶ τὰ ἄνω, ἀλλ' ἔστιν οὗ τὰς διαφυάς, καθ' ἃς ἡ ἁρμογὴ τῶν σανίδων ἄφρακτος*".

28. *Λόγος Εὐχαριστήριος*, 306, 20-22: "*τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος σανίδας, συνηρμοσμένας μέν, οὐ μήν γε προσηλωμένας, ἐκσπάσαντες ὅσα καὶ κώπαις ὡς ἐνὸν ἐχρῶντο*".

29. *Λόγος Εὐχαριστήριος*, 292 κ.εξ.: "*Τῷ γὰρ λοιπώ, καὶ ἄμφω τὸ μὲν μεῖζον, τὸ δ' ὂν κελήτιον, ἐφρουρείτην πρὸς τοὺς ἀνήκοντας καιροὺς ἔνδον ἑκάστοτε κοίλῃ νηΐ*".

30. Συνέσιος Κυρήνης, *Επιστολαί*, έκδ. A. Garzya, *Synesii Cyrenensis Epistolae*, Ρώμη 1979, [21]-[22], αρ. 5.

Frederick H. van Doorninck, Jr.

THE Y-SHAPED ANCHOR: WHERE, WHEN AND WHY

Just under a quarter of a a century ago, in 1978, Gerhard Kapitän, a pioneer nautical archaeologist in the Mediterranean, could write that only a few examples were known of Y-shaped iron anchors, all of them having been found in the restricted area of Sicily and North Africa.[1] These anchors have straight arms inclined downward with respect to the shank (giving to the anchor its inverted Y shape), spade-shaped teeth set at right angles to the arms at their outer ends, and an aperture for a removable stock located a short distance below the shank head, where there is a ring for the anchor cable (Fig. 1). Today, there are dozens of published examples of Y-shaped anchors from many parts of the Mediterranean and Black Seas and a far greater number of unpublished examples known within the nautical archaeological community.

In most publications to date, Y-shaped anchors have been treated as a single typological type. However, in Russia, A. V. Okorokov,[2] followed by A. Kondrashov,[3] have made a distinction between Y-shaped anchors with a crown (that part of the shank projecting below

1. G. Kapitän, "Exploration at Cape Graziano, Filicudi, Aeolian Islands, 1977", *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 7 (1978) 269-277, here 271.

2. A. V. Okorokov, "The Dating and Classification of Ships' Iron Anchors IIIrd Century B.C. - XIth Century A.D.", *Bosporskij Sbornik* 2 (1993) 172-191, here 185-186.

3. A. Kondrashov, "Underwater Investigations at Cape Panagia on the Taman Peninsula, Straits of Kerch", *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 24 (1995) 109-119, here 116-117.

the arms) and Y-shaped anchors without a crown. In the second type (Fig. 2), it would appear that the two arms were forged together so as to form a single, unbroken parabolic curve running from one arm extremity to the other and that the bottom end of the shank was then forged to the arms at the midpoint in their combined length. I have proposed yet a third typological type, the Y-shaped kedge anchor, in my study, soon to be published, of the Y-shaped anchors carried by the 11th-century Byzantine ship at Serçe Limanı.[4] Designed for use on a ship's boat, the kedge anchors have proportionally shorter arms and overall length than do other Y-shaped anchors, the proportional reduction in overall length being achieved by lessening the downward inclination of the arms (Fig. 3).

Examples of the first type of Y-shaped anchor that have been published and adequately illustrated include ones from the Russian Black Sea area,[5] Sozopol and Kaliakra in Bulgaria,[6] Tekmezar Burnu and Çamaltı Burnu in the Sea of Marmara,[7] Delos and the Northern Euboean Gulf (Agios Ioannis Theologos) in the Aegean,[8] Cape Andreas in Cyprus,[9] Tartous in Syria[10] and Cape Graziano in the Aeolian Islands.[11] A few published and illustrated examples of the second type

4. "The Anchors". Chapter 12 in G. F. Bass - S. Matthews - J. R. Steffy - F. H. van Doorninck, Jr. *et al.*, *Serçe Limanı: An Eleventh-Century Shipwreck*, 1: *The Ship and Its Anchorage, Crew and Passengers*, College Station (in press).

5. Okorokov, "Dating", 181, fig. 8, 1-4, and 189-190, table 2, 8, 1-4; Kondrashov, "Investigations", 117, fig. 10, 2.

6. M. Lazarov, *Pot'nalata flotilija*, Varna 1975, opposite 144, top and opposite 144, bottom. There are also anchors of the first type in the Sozopol Archaeological and Varna Maritime Museums.

7. Nergis Günsenin, "The 1994 Marmara Islands Underwater Survey", *XIII. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Ankara 1996, 357-373, here 364, fig. 1, and 368, fig. 5, top.

8. W. Deonna, *Le mobilier délien* (Exploration archéologique de Délos 18), Paris 1938, 199, fig. 235; D. Kazianes - Angeliki Simossi - F. K. Haniotes, "Three Amphora Wrecks from the Greek World", *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 19 (1990) 225-232, here 229, fig. 9a.

9. J. N. Green, "An Underwater Archaeological Survey of Cape Andreas, Cyprus, 1969-70", in D. J. Blackman (ed.), *Marine Archaeology*, London 1973, 141-179, here 169, fig. 29, anchors 23-20 and 26-8.

10. S. Tanabe *et al.*, *Excavation of a Sunken Ship Found off the Syrian Coast - an Interim Report*, Kyoto 1989, wreck plan and 22, plate 20, 4.

11. Kapitän, "Exploration", 271, fig. 3.

are from the Russian Black Sea area[12] and Cape Andreas in Cyprus.[13] There is also an unpublished example of the second type in the harbor at Dor (Israel).[14] Published and illustrated anchors I have assigned to the third type, the Y-shaped kedge anchor, include one of the anchors from the 11th-century Serçe Limanı ship,[15] another anchor in the Bodrum Museum,[16] an anchor from the Çamaltı Burnu Wreck in the Sea of Marmara,[17] one from the Straits of Kerch[18] and one from the promontory of Plemmyrion immediately south of Syracuse and another at Rocca di San Nicola near Licata in Sicily.[19] A pair of anchors on a 10th-century wreck at Agay in southern France may have been Y-shaped kedge anchors,[20] but it is in fact uncertain from publications of them whether the anchors on this wreck were Y-shaped or cruciform.

Additional Y-shaped anchors, mentioned in publications but without accompanying design details, have been found in Bulgaria, at Cape Galata (near Varna), Pomorie (Anchialus), Kiten, Michurin (Tsarevo) and Cape Kaliakra;[21] in the Sea of Marmara, on the Çamaltı Burnu,

12. Okorokov, "Dating", 182, fig. 10, 1-2, and 189-190, table 2, 10, 1-2; Kondrashov, "Investigations", 116-117, fig. 10, 3-4.

13. Green, "Survey", 169, fig. 29, anchors 17-7, 23-3A, 23-4, 23-9, 009 and 014.

14. My thanks to Shelley Wachsmann for showing me a photograph of this anchor concreted in place on the harbor seabed.

15. Anchor 2. A drawing of this anchor has already been published in F. H. van Doorninck, Jr., "Glasvraget - et byzantinsk skib fra 1000-tallet", in Birgitta P. Hallager (ed.), *Hvad Middelhavet gemmer*, Aarhus 1997, figure on 125, anchor on right.

16. F. H. van Doorninck, Jr., "The Fabrication of Some Medieval Iron Anchors at the Bodrum Museum in Turkey", in D. Keith (ed.), *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Conference on Underwater Archaeology*, San Marino 1984, 4, fig. 3.

17. Günsenin, "1994 Survey", 368, fig. 5, bottom.

18. Okorokov, "Dating", 182, fig. 8, 1.

19. D. M. Squire *et al.*, "Report of the Oxford University Plemmyrion Expedition 1968", *Oxford University Exploration Club Bulletin* 17 (1969) 40, fig. 8, 1; A. Freschi, "Un giacimento di ancore antiche nelle acque agrigentine", *Bollettino di archeologia subacquea* 2-3 (1995-1996), figs. 1, 6 and 7, anchor SS.

20. A. G. Visquis, "Premier inventaire du mobilier de l'épave dite 'des jarres' à Agay", *Cahiers d'Archéologie Subaquatique* 2 (1973) 157-166, here 158 and pl. VI; for the date of the wreck, see G. Vindry, "Présentation de l'épave arabe de Batéguier (Baie de Cannes, Provence orientale)", in Gabrielle Demians d'Archimbaud - M. Picon (eds.), *La céramique médievale en Méditerranée occidentale*, Paris 1980, 221-226, here 225.

21. Lazarov, *Pot'nalata flotilija*, 115.

Anataş Adacık and Eşek Adaları Wrecks[22] and near the Hayırsız Ada Wreck;[23] on the southern coast of Turkey, near the Uluburun Wreck;[24] in Cyprus, at Cape Andreas;[25] in Israel, at Dor;[26] and in Libya, at Apollonia and Benghazi.[27] There are in addition a great many Y-shaped anchors known to nautical archaeologists that have not been published. For example, the fieldnotes for the surveys that the Institute of Nautical Archaeology conducted in Turkish waters between 1982 and 1996 record the presence of at least 34 Y-shaped anchors at 11 different sites widely distributed along the coast between the Gulf of Izmir and the Gulf of Antalya and one other such anchor off the island of Marmara in the Sea of Marmara. Furthermore, several times as many Y-shaped anchors were sighted but not recorded during these surveys.

It would appear that, at least within Byzantine waters, the Y-shaped anchor superseded the cruciform anchor and then continued in common use for a period lasting somewhere between 300 and 400 years. Setting aside the Agay anchors with their uncertain configuration, the latest closely datable cruciform anchors are presently those on the Byzantine shipwreck at Selimiye near Bozburun in Turkey, dated by its cargo amphoras to the 9th or early 10th century.[28] The latest datable Y-shaped anchors are those on the Tartous and the Çamaltı Burnu Wrecks, which have been dated by their cargo amphoras to the 12th or 13th century[29]

22. Nergis Günsenin - N. Özaydın, "Marmara Adası, Çamaltı Burnu I Batığı - 1998", *21. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 2, Ankara 2000, 341-350, here 342 and figs. 3-6; Nergis Günsenin, "The 1993 Tekirdağ and Balikesir Provinces Hoşköy - Gaziköy Geophysical (Magnetometer), Marmara Islands Underwater Survey", *X. Arkeometri Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Ankara 1995, 201-220, here 207-208.

23. C. Pulak, "The 1984 Marmara Underwater Surveys", *III. Arastırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 47-62, here 54-55; idem, "Turkish Coastal Survey Yields Wrecksite Inventory", *Institute of Nautical Archaeology Newsletter* 12/2 (1985) 2-3, here 2.

24. G. F. Bass, "Underwater Surveys, 1985", *Anatolian Studies* 36 (1986) 214-216, here 214.

25. Green, "Survey", 171.

26. S. A. Kingsley - K. Raveh, *The Ancient Harbour and Anchorage at Dor, Israel: Results of the Underwater Surveys, 1976-1991*, Oxford 1996, 4, table 1; 23; 51, table 5; 80.

27. Kapitän, "Exploration", 271; Squire, "Report", 41.

28. F. M. Hocker, "Bozburun Byzantine Shipwreck Excavation: The Final Campaign 1998", *Institute of Nautical Archaeology Quarterly* 25/4 (1998) 3-13, here 4.

29. Tanabe, *Excavation*, 69.

and to the 13th century,[30] respectively.

The places where Y-shaped anchors have been found are all, except for Israel, Libya and the west coast of Sicily, in what were Byzantine home waters in the 10th and 11th centuries. The exceptions raise the possibility that Islamic ships used Y-shaped anchors as well, at least in the eastern Mediterranean, but the evidence at present is much too slight to permit any certain conclusions about this. As for the design of medieval anchors in the western Mediterranean, we presently have only the problematic evidence of the Agay anchors. It may be noted, however, that of 9 iron anchors recovered from the riverbed site of the medieval port of Valencia, a facility that functioned throughout the period in which Y-shaped amphoras were used, 7 are cruciform and 2 have lunate arms.[31] The total absence of Y-shaped anchors in the group suggests the possibility that they did not become commonly used in the western Mediterranean, an area beyond the normal range of Byzantine maritime activity.

My study of the 9 anchors carried by the 11th-century Byzantine ship that sank at Serçe Limanı has led me to conclude that a high level of standardization had been reached in the weight, dimensions and fabrication of Byzantine anchors by the 11th century. Volume measurements of the anchors restored to their original state coupled with the specific gravity of surviving iron from three of them indicates that the original weights of the anchors, not including their cable ring, had been 150, 175 or 200 Byzantine λίτραι (pounds).[32] (The cable rings had a standard weight of 5 λίτραι.) That the weights of the Byzantine anchors on the small (some 30 metric tons capacity) Serçe Limanı ship were multiples of 25 λίτραι, or one-quarter of a Byzantine hundredweight, is of considerable interest, since we know that the 13th-century Genoese made anchors for their smaller ships that were multiples of one-quarter of a Genoese hundredweight (*cantarium*

30. Günsenin, "1993 Survey", 206.

31. I am indebted for this information to Lawrence Mott, who re-examined these anchors for me in September 1997.

32. The weight assigned the λίτρα here is 0.320 kg, a value favored by the ship's Byzantine weighing equipment and the weight capacities of the Byzantine amphoras on board. For the weight capacities of the amphoras, see F. H. van Doorninck, Jr., "The Piriform Amphoras from the 11th-Century Shipwreck at Serçe Limanı: Sophisticated Containers for Byzantine Commerce in Wine", *Graeco-Arabica* 6 (1995) 181-189, here 186-187.

sottile).[33] The 13th-century Genoese may have been following a long-established practice within the Mediterranean inherited from Byzantium.

Although probably made by at least five different workshops, the Serçe Limanı anchors also reflected a high level of dimensional standardization. With the exception of the kedge anchor, the normal length of the arms and the shank of the anchors appears to have been 2 *πόδες* (feet)[34] and 6 *βασιλικαὶ σπιθαμαί* (imperial spans),[35] respectively, while all the anchors had cable rings with a diameter of 1 *κοινὴ σπιθαμή* (common span)[36] and a medial stock aperture of 3 *δάκτυλοι* (fingers).[37] Such dimensional uniformity is absent among the anchors of the 7th-century Byzantine ship at Yassıada. For example, the six bower anchors on that ship, all having the same weight, had shanks that ranged in length from 2.04 to 2.565 meters[38] and the ship's two best bowers, again having the same weight, had stock apertures that measured 0.056 x 0.045 and approximately 0.066 x 0.065 meters.[39] The one-quarter of a hundredweight weight progression and high degree of

33 This is revealed by extant contracts involving some of the Genoese ships chartered by representatives of Louis IX in 1269 and 1270 for the Eighth Crusade to Tunis. The *Sanctus Salvator*, a *navis* with a beam of 5.95 m, and the *Sanctus Nicolaus*, a *navis* with a beam of 6.45 (at 1st deck), were both required to carry 12 anchors weighing 4 1/2 *cantaria* each: M. Champollion-Figeac, *Documents historiques inédits tirés des collections manuscrites de la Bibliothèque Royale et des Archives ou des Bibliothèques des Departements*, Paris 1841-1846, v. 1, 557-561, no. XXII, doc. XIV, and 565-570, doc. XVI; the *Caritas*, a *navis* with a beam of 6.70 m, a *sallandrum* with a beam of 6.57 m and three *sallandri*, each with a beam of 6.70 m, 13 anchors weighing 4 3/4 *cantaria* each: 589-594, doc. XXI; 561-565, doc. XV; 575-579, doc. XVIII; 579-583, doc. XIX; and 594-599, doc. XXII; and the *Bonaventura*, a *navis* with a beam of 7.44 (at 1st deck), and a *navis* with a beam of 8.06 m, 18 anchors weighing 5 to/or 6 *cantaria* each: 551-557, doc. XIII, and 570-574, doc. XVII. The Genoese *cantarium sottile* weighed 47.55 kg: F. C. Lane, "Tonnages, Medieval and Modern", *The Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 17 (1964) 221.

34. The Byzantine foot had a length of 31.23 cm: E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 12/4), Munich 1970, 20.

35. The imperial span had a length of 23.4 cm: Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 19.

36. The common span had a length of 20.8 cm: Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 19.

37. The Byzantine finger had a length of 1.95 cm: Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 16.

38. G. F. Bass - F. H. van Doorninck, Jr. (eds.), *Yassi Ada*, 1: *A Seventh-Century Byzantine Shipwreck*, College Station 1982, 125-126, 134.

39. *Ibid.*

dimensional standardization present in the Serçe Limanı anchors suggest that, by the 11th century, Byzantine maritime law exercised, in the interest of safety, a high level of control over the number and weight of anchors carried by a ship of any particular size, as maritime law did in the Western Mediterranean a couple of centuries later. The standardization of dimensions made it easier for an official to determine whether or not a ship was carrying anchors of an adequate weight and facilitated anchor handling as well.

In a majority of cases, the Serçe Limanı anchors had been fabricated out of 17 pieces of iron bar forge-welded together; 4 pieces for either arm, 1 piece for either tooth, 6 pieces for the shank and 1 piece for the ring. In making an arm, the forger first butt-welded together 2 pieces of iron bar. This appears to have been the normal first step in making the arms of all but the very smallest sizes of Y-shaped anchors.[40] A third piece was added by means of a vertical lap weld to form the outer end of the arm. The tooth, already formed separately and laminated for extra strength, was then attached by means of a horizontal lap weld. The arm was completed to the desired overall length by adding another bar, again by means of a vertical lap weld, at the arm's inner end. The iron bars making up the shank were lap-welded together. The welds appear to have been normally in the form of a compact, well-rounded S-shaped scarfs, the scarf ends being centered on the faces, rather than the sides, of the shank. With the scarfs so oriented, the shank was less likely to rupture while in use due to a bending of the shank away from the seabed. The two uppermost bars in the shank were forge-welded together in such a way as to form the stock aperture. The inner ends of the arms partially overlap the shank on opposite sides and the three components were forge-welded together through hammering the arm ends against the shank and the shank against the arm ends. Finally, the cable rings were each made from a single iron rod circular in section with a diameter of 1 δάκτυλος and a length of 2 πόδες; the rod ends were lap-welded together.

The Serçe Limanı anchors had undergone considerable damage. Of 16 teeth that still exist today, 9 had been damaged, in most, if not all, instances on the ship's last voyage. In the case of all but one of the damaged teeth, the broken edges had been filed down and the tooth

40 .I have found such butt welds midway along the arms of Y-shaped anchors that I have examined at Sozopol and Varna and from the Çamaltı Burnu Wreck.

reshaped in order to minimize the chances of further damage and make the tooth as functional as possible. Either three or four anchors had had their shanks broken during the voyage and had been repaired in a very hurried fashion at some port along the way. In one instance, the upper part of one anchor and the bottom part of another were forge-welded together, while in two other instances the two parts of the same anchor were rejoined. The retrieval of both parts of these anchors was probably made possible by the normal practice of fastening a buoy line to the bottom of the shank to mark an anchor's posotion. The breaking of yet another shank while anchoring at Serçe Limanı caused the sinking of the ship.

The great frequency at which the shanks of such anchors were broken was a consequence of the way they were made. They were hand-forged out of a large number of small pieces and the smaller an anchor's cross-sectional dimensions were made, the easier (and less expensive) it was to hand-forge welds that were sound and not likely to fail. This is undoubtedly why ancient and medieval ships of any particular size carried the thinnest, lightest iron anchors possible. To compensate for anchor lightness, multiple anchors were used simultaneously. For example, both the 7th-century Byzantine ship at Yassıada and the 11th-century ship at Serçe Limanı carried 4 bower anchors ready for immediate use. To compensate for the frequent breaking of anchors, ships often carried at least one full set of spares, as did both the Yassıada and Serçe Limanı ships. Relatively large ships also carried some heavier sheet anchors for use as a last resort, as did the Yassıada ship. It was for these reasons that the largest ships in the Mediterranean came to carry as many as 28 anchors by the middle of the 13th century.[41]

Within the context of the lightness and fragility of medieval iron anchors in the Mediteßrranean, the design of the Y-shaped anchor represents an improvement over that of its predecessor, the cruciform anchor. A Y-shaped anchor with the same overall length as a cruciform anchor has a substantially shorter shank that would be less likely to break under bending forces. It now appears unlikely that this was a

41. In 1246, a Genoese *navis* with a beam of 10.04 m, contracted for the Seventh Crusade to Egypt, was required to carry 28 anchors, 20 weighing 8 *cantaria* each and 8 weighing 10 *cantaria* each: Champollion-Figeac, *Documents*, v. 2, B, 55-56, no. XXIX, doc. 2.

gradual evolutionary improvement, a notion to which I myself ascribed until recently.[42] None of the Y-shaped anchors that have been published and illustrated have less than a fully developed Y-shape configuration, other than those of the kedge-anchor type. In the absence of transitional forms, it would appear that the Y-shaped anchor was an innovative design devised at some particular point in time.

I am inclined to think that the new design came into being in the 10th century as the volume of maritime trade in the Mediterranean began to significantly increase and with it the economic utility of larger ships. Larger ships required heavier anchors. These could be made by increasing overall dimensions and/or increasing cross-sectional dimensions. The problem was that in making hand-forged anchors, even modest increases in cross-sectional dimensions necessitated substantial increases in hearth structure, fuel consumption and forging skill, thus resulting in substantially greater expense. Simply increasing overall anchor dimensions alone, on the other hand, would result in longer shanks more susceptible to breakage. A partial solution to the problem was the Y-shaped anchor, which probably was first introduced on large ships and then gradually adopted by vessels of all sizes, eventually including those as small as the Serçe Limanı ship. The broken shanks of the Serçe Limanı anchors clearly show, however, that the new design fell well short of fully solving the problem.

It is unlikely that the Y-shaped anchor continued in general use very far, if at all, beyond the 13th century. I have suggested elsewhere[43] that the development of the water-powered tilt-hammer for forging in the 13th century[44] very soon led to Mediterranean ships carrying much fewer and substantially heavier anchors, a change that can be seen by comparing the number and weight of the anchors on the Genoese ships contracted in the middle of the 13th century for St. Louis[45] with regulations concerning anchors in Genoese maritime statutes of 1341[46]

42. F. H. van Doorninck, Jr., "The Anchors: A Limited Technology, A Sophisticated Design", *Institute of Nautical Archaeology Newsletter* 15/3 (1988) 24-25.

43. F. H. van Doorninck, Jr., "The Fabrication of Some Medieval Iron Anchors", 4.

44. S. L. Semiatin - G. D. Lahoti, "The Forging of Metals", *Scientific American* 245/2 (1981) 98.

45. Champollion-Figeac, *Documents*, v. 1, no. XXII, docs. I, III, XIII-XXII, XXIV; v. 2, B, no. XVIII, doc. 1 and no. XXIX, doc. 2.

46. A. Jal, *Archéologie navale*, 2, Paris 1840, 153, 168.

and 1441.[47] Venice may have been manufacturing the new, heavier anchors as early as 1288.[48] Once heavier anchors in smaller numbers became economically preferable, the design of the Y-shaped anchor lost its utility. The anchor type soon went out of use and eventually was forgotten, lost to history until just over two decades ago.

47. J. M. Pardessus, *Collection de lois maritimes antériores au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1828-1845, v. 4, 465-487.

48. In that year, the Great Council of Venice resolved to dispatch thirty to forty anchors from the state's Arsenal to Acre so that they might be leased in case of bad weather at sea, presumably to Venetian ships: D. Jacoby, "Venetian Anchors for Crusader Acre", *The Mariner's Mirror* 71 (1985) 5-12. Although the Council's resolution was undoubtedly in response to a specific set of circumstances, it also implies some difficulty in repairing Venetian anchors or obtaining comparable replacements in the Holy Land, perhaps because Venetian anchors were now being produced by a radically new technology.

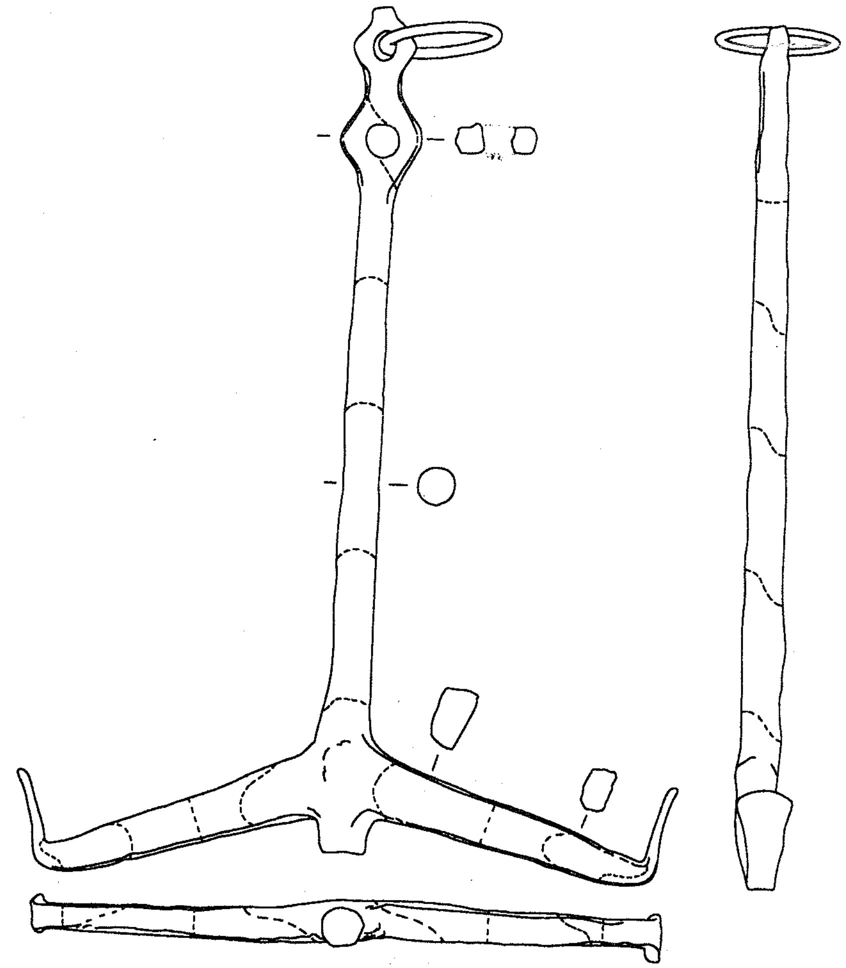


Fig. 1. A Y-shaped anchor of normal design. Dashed lines indicate locations and configurations of weld scarfs.

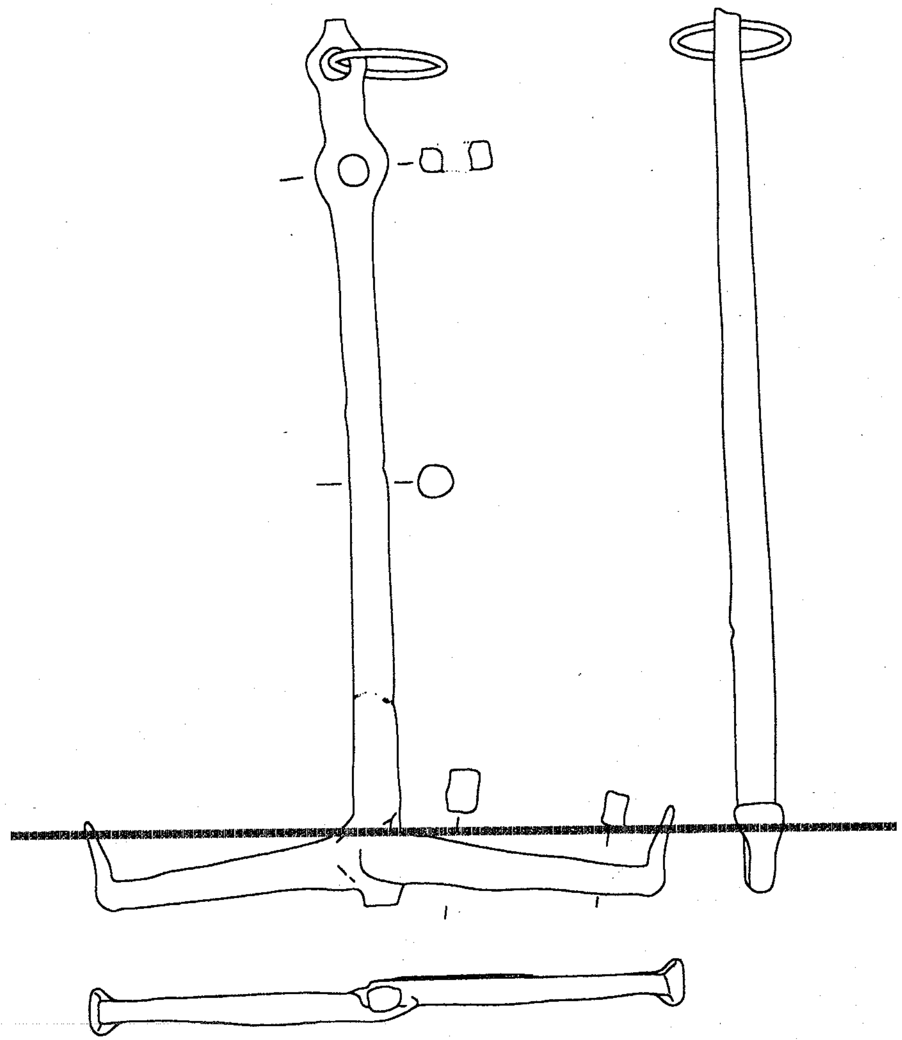


Fig. 2. A Y-shaped anchor of normal design. Dashed lines indicate locations and configurations of weld scarfs.

Olga Frolova

NAGIB MAHFOUZ: TRANSLATIONS OF HIS WORKS AND WORKS ABOUT HIM PUBLISHED IN RUSSIA

The Nobel Prize Winner for Literature in 1988, the Egyptian novelist and playwright Nagib Mahfouf, is famous not only in his own Arab world, but also in American and European countries including Russia. Nine of his novels and about fourty short stories from fourteen collections have been translated by scholars in oriental studies for the Russian Reader.

Nagib Mahfouz was born in 1911. He was educated at a religious school (*kuttab*) and at a secondary school. At Cairo University he studied philosophy and was writing a master's dissertation, but his attraction to literature and his wish to devote himself to the world of letters made him give up his studies to become a civil servant in order to devote all his spare time to writing. His study of world literature was thorough: he read and analysed all great works of Western and Russian writers of the 19th and 20th centuries. His interest for history manifested itself in his creating, in 1938-1944, three novels about ancient Egypt, *The Play of Fates*, *Rhodopis*, *The Struggle in Thebes*, and several short stories about Egypt in the times of the Pharaohs, published in the collection of short stories *Whisper of Madness*. A dissertation on those three novels was written in Russia in 1982 and defended at St. Petersburg State University by a Bulgarian scholar, Ms. Lotus Boradjieva, who concluded that behind the historical facts there were modern philosophical and sociological theories. The novels appear to reflect the patriotism of Nagib Mahfouz as an Egyptian author writing about Egypt rather than about the history of the caliphate in Arab lands. One of the novels, *Rhodopis*, was translated into Russian. The choice was made by the author of this report, and the translator was Dr. Kamal

Junusov, assistant professor at St. Petersburg State University. The plot is based on the events described by the Greek historian Herodotus in his famous nine-book history. Rhodopis was a slave in the household of a native of the island of Samos, who also owned the fabulist Aesop. According to Herodotus, she was rather charming and later on she became so famous that her name was familiar to everyone born in Hellas. The initial point of the novel is a legend told by Strabo, historian and geographer. The legend runs as follows: when Rhodopis was bathing, an eagle snatched one of her sandals and carried it to Memphis, the earliest capital of Egypt. There the eagle dropped the sandal right into the Egyptian ruler's lap. Surprised both by the exquisite shape of the sandal and the extraordinary way of getting it, the king sent his servants to all directions to find the woman who had worn it. As soon as she was found and brought to Memphis, she was made the king's wife. Nagib Mahfouz has somewhat altered the story. The Bulgarian researcher, Dr. Boradjueva, believes that the author treats actual present-day problems and significant social and political conflicts. Some critics consider King Farouk to be the prototype for the ancient king Merenr. The less politically-minded reader, however, will compare the novel with the world-famous story of Cinderella and its numerous modern versions.

In the 1940s and the early 1950s, Nagib Mahfouz wrote eight novels of his "Cairo Cycle", in which he describes contemporary life in Egypt: *The New Cairo*, *Khan al-Khalili*, *The Madak Thoroufare*, *The Mirage*, *The Beginning and the End*, and the Cairo Trilogy with the books titled by the names of streets in Cairo. The three books of the Cairo Trilogy were studied by the Moscow orientalist Yuri Roshchin, who called his dissertation "Bain al-Qasrain as a Work of Critical Realism" (Moscow 1967). Dr. Roshchin's research was continued by Ms. Tashmukhamedova, a scholar from Tashkent, who wrote her dissertation in 1970 ("The Earliest Novels of Nagib Mahfouz as a Description of the Daily Life of the People", Tashkent 1970). The earlier novels had marked the beginning of the novel in Arabic literature—of a quality comparable with the West-European novel. In the process of writing his novels, Nagib Mahfouz established his own style in the Arabic language, which became characteristic of all his works; moreover, it became a literary Arabic shared by all Arabs—the language of modern literature in Arabic. A graduate of St. Petersburg State University, Aleksandr Matveyev, who translated works by Nagib Mahfouz into Russian, remarked quite rightly: "The role of Nagib Mahfouz in the formation of modern Arabic could be compared to the role that Alexander Pushkin had played in the formation of modern literary Russian." As a translator and a scholar, Matveyev wrote: "Nagib Mahfouz managed to create a truly modern living language which, on the one hand, preserved the richness of classical Arabic and Arabic cultural heritage and, on the other, acquired such features of Arabic vernaculars as sensibility, vitality, directness and expressiveness." The road Nagib Mahfouz had taken allowed "to maintain the cultural tradition, the experience handed down from generation to generation, and the unity of all Arabs."[1] These deserts of Nagib Mahfouz can hardly be overestimated. Unfortunately, not a single one of the eight novels has been translated into the Russian language.

After the Cairo Trilogy was completed and owing to the changes in Egyptian society brought about by the 1952 revolution initiated by Gamal Abdel Nasser, Nagib Mahfouz survived the hardships of the revolutionary period and wrote a new novel in 1959, which was partly published in sequels in the newspaper *al-Ahram*. The work, titled *The Children of our Neighbourhood*, was pronounced by the sheiks of El Azhar to be heretical. Consequently, it was not until 1967 that it was first published in book form. Moreover, the book was published in Beirut and not Cairo. The novel is an allegorical description of the history of mankind; human thought (mind) develops as it seeks the supreme human ideal, and all this results in the conclusion that the contents of the supreme ideal is a compound of the social and the moral aspects. The main idea of the novel is a warning against the fatal consequences of separating the science from the ethics. As regards the science, another researcher of Nagib Mahfouz's works and translator of the novel, Professor Valeria Kirpichenko, wrote: "Only a science that benefits the people, the public enlightenment and welfare is able to pave the way for the 'bright 'future'".[2] The novel may be said to be summing up the author's spiritual quest and his reflections on the meaning of human life and the evolution of mankind. In the novels to follow, the author's opinion on his characters and events in their lives will be based on the conclusions upon the higher moral values that he made in the novel *The*

1. Nagib Mahfouz, *Pod naviesom*, translation, commentary and glossary by A. S. Matveyev, Moscow 1994, 12.

2. Valeria N. Kirpichenko, *Nagib Mahfouz - emir arabskovo romana*, Moscow 1992, 190.

Children of our Neighbourhood. The entire cycle of novels is often referred to as the "smaller" novels of the 1960s or "the novels of the way". The cycle includes six novels and two collections of short stories published between 1961 and 1967. The novels are *The Thief and the Dogs*, *Quails in Autumn*, *The Way*, *The Beggar*, *Chatting over the Nile*, *Miramar*, and the two collections are *The God's World* and *The House of Ill Fame*.

The theme of all his works of the period is the choice of the road to take, which may be interpreted at three levels: individual, socio-historical and metaphysical. It was during that period that Arabic literature was obviously influenced by the works of Fyodor Dostoevsky—and so was Nagib Mahfouz, who also used some elements of the detective story ("the police novel"), of the novel in the form of dialogue, and of the story in which different characters speak differently of the same people and events. In terms of the genre, no similarities can be found in West-European literature, and it may be concluded that his great skill raises Nagib Mahfouz to the summit of world literature. The following novels and short stories have been translated into Russian: *The Thief and the Dogs*, *The Way*, *Miramar*, *Quails in Autumn* (that is, four out of six) and stories from both *The God's World* and *The House of Ill Fame*. My personal contribution towards introducing Nagib Mahfouz to the Russian reader consisted in translating some of his stories ("The Murder", "The God's World", "The Midnight Discussions"—with the last one published in a popular daily, *Lipetskaiya Gazeta*, in Lipetsk, south of Moscow), as well as in selecting—in my capacity as editor—his novel *The Miramar Pension* for a volume of his selected works published in Russia in 1990.[3] The scene of the novel is set in Alexandria and the owner of the pension, a middle-aged Greek woman called Marianna, is described with great affection. Indeed, Greece and Alexandria have been in close contact since ancient times. The proof is the very name of the city, or Trajan's column, or the streets named after Plato the philosopher, Cleopatra the beautiful, etc.

The breaking point in the history of Egypt—as well as in the works of Nagib Mahfouz and in the history of Arabic literature in general—was the failure in the Six-Day War of June 1967 followed by a rejection of all Socialist principles and a fast re-orientation towards a capitalist road for the country. President Nasser died in 1970. He was succeeded

3. Nagib Mahfouz, *Izbranoie*, Leningrad 1990.

by Anwar Sadat, who set out to reform Egypt, and a campaign was launched "to correct the mistakes of the revolution". As a result, the Egyptian population went into a shock and most writers had to give up writing. In its essence and results, the situation in Egypt was similar to the state of things in Russia twenty years later, i.e. in the post-perestroika period aggravated by the so-called "failure in World War III".

The novels and stories written by Nagib Mahfouz after 1967 reflect his opinion about the revolutionary reform in Egypt, the lost war, the shattered hopes for the country's future. The French critic V. Monteil was quite right in saying that Nagib Mahfouz represented a literature that was politically oriented, that he described the social conflicts and political events from his own point of view. His uncompromising attitude manifested itself in a number of novels and short stories. For instance, the short story "Under the Awning", published in the *al-Ahram* at the end of 1967, resembled a scene from a horror film or from the theatre of absurdity, for the lost war and the political events in Egypt had destroyed all hopes, and "the absurd reigned over the reasonable". Later on, in 1969, the story was added to other short stories to form a collection of the same name. It was followed by other collections of short stories, *The Black Cat Wine Bar* (1969), *A Tale without a Beginning or an End* (1971), *Honeymoon* (1971), *The Crime* (1973), *The Mirrors*—a novel published in 1972 and not unlike a collection of short stories. Also in the early seventies two novels were published, *Love in the Rain* (1973) and *Karnak* (1974), in which the author's meditations on life are close to those found in his books written immediately after 1967.

Of all works of that period, Russian translations were made of two novels—*Love in the Rain* (1975) and *The Mirrors* (1979)—and of a number of short stories ("Under the Awning", "Darkness", "The Barman", "Emptiness", "Shahrazad", etc.).

Of the works published between 1975 and 1990, a few have been translated and published in Russia: the novel *Dear Sir* (1990) and several short stories. The novel may be said to have been written as a vengeance upon the bureaucracy of his past, settling an account with the system. On the other hand, it is a philosophical work on the meaning of human life, on life and death, on those who are held captive because of a fake goal in life. The short stories (1991 and 1994) were selected from three collections, *Tales of My Neighbourhood*, *The Devil Preaches*, *The Morning of Roses*.

By the 1990s, Russian orientalists had decided to sum up their activity as translators and researchers of voluminous works by Nagib Mahfouz. In 1990, two volumes of his selected novels were published—one edited by Valeria Kirpichenko in Moscow[4] and the other edited by the present author in Leningrad/St. Petersburg.[5] Of the two collections published in 1991 and 1994, respectively, one was edited by Kamal Junusov[6] and the other by Aleksandr Matveyev. In 1992 a monograph appeared; Professor Valeria Kirpichenko called her book *Nagib Mahfouzas the Emir of Novels in Arabic*.[7] In the monograph, one can find a description of the festival of Arabic literature celebrating the Nobel prize for Literature awarded to Nagib Mahfouz in 1988, and a review of analysis and criticism written about Nagib Mahfouz in Arabic, Russian and European languages. The monograph consists of seven chapters: 1) A young man of philosophical turn. 2) Egypt under the Pharaohs. 3) A vista of the free novel. 4) The implacable course of Time. 5) The novels of the Way. 6) The unity of times has broken down. 7) The round dreams and the angular history.

It should be mentioned that some graduates of higher educational institutions in Russia have been carrying on their research on the works by Nagib Mahfouz in their home countries outside Russia. An Uzbek scholar's dissertation has been mentioned above; it was defended in Tashkent in 1970. The Uzbek scholar, Ms. Tashmukhamedova, had another work published in Russian in Tashkent—her analysis of the novel *Mirage*. Some Arab scholars also wrote their works in Russian. For instance, Dr. Khairi al-Damin had his research on the novel *Chatting over the Nile* published in Russian in Moscow; Dr. Walid Seif wrote his dissertation ("Novels by Nagib Mahfouz: Problems of Filming", Moscow 1998) in Russian—he also defended it in Russian. A graduate of Leningrad/St. Petersburg State University, Ms. Olga Nad, wrote her work *Nagib Mahfouz as an Arabic Dickens* in Hungarian and had it published in Bucharest, the capital of Romania, in 1971. In the same year, she wrote her dissertation in Russian. The dissertation, "The problem of hero in Nagib Mahfouz's novels", was defended in Moscow.

On May 27, 2000, the Bachelor of Arts degree was awarded to Ms.

4. Nagib Mahfouz, *Izbranoie. Romany*, Moscow 1990.

5. Nagib Mahfouz, *Izbranoie*, Leningrad 1990.

6. Nagib Mahfouz, *Shachrazata: Rasskazy*, ed. K. O. Junusov, Moscow 1991.

7. Valeria N. Kirpichenko, *Nagib Mahfouz - emir arabskovo romana*, Moscow 1992.

Valentina Timofeyeva at the Oriental Department of St. Petersburg State University. She wrote her thesis on the novel *Living in Truth* (1985), treating the problem of monotheism in ancient Egypt in the times of Pharaoh Ikhnaton and his beautiful queen, Nefertiti.

Russian scholars often compare Nagib Mahfouz with Leo Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Balzac, Dickens, Zola, Thomas Mann, Galsworthy.

Apart from scholarly works, there have been numerous Russian translations of his works published regularly in a great number of copies: Nagib Mahfouz is popular with Russian readers who admire his captivating novels and short stories. For the Russian reader, Nagib Mahfouz is an author of a very high order.

Michal Gawlikowski

THE LIONS OF ALLAT

The Arab goddess Allat, as is well known, not least from a recent contribution by Vassilios Christides,[1] was popular among such sedentary communities of Roman Syria where a heritage of recent nomadic past is otherwise noticeable. She occupied, in the first place, a paramount position in the pantheon of various tribes of Arabia, up to the advent of Islam.[2] Sharing with other desert gods a warrior character, Allat was rather naturally equated with the Greek Athena, as soon as the degree of Hellenization a community had achieved called for a Greek version of the name.[3] There was, however, another and more ancient identification of the Arab goddess, namely with Atargatis or Dea Syria.[4]

1. V. Christides, "The Beginning of Graeco-Nabataean Religious Syncretism: Two Stone Lintels from Sweydah of Nabatene", *Graeco-Arabica* 6 (1995) 272-300.

2. Cf. H. Seyrig, "Les dieux armés et les Arabes en Syrie", Syria 47 (1970) 77-112; J. Starcky, "Allath", *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 1, Zürich - Munich 1981, 564-570.

3. Cf. J. Starcky, "Allath, Athéna et la Déesse Syrienne", in L. Kahil (ed.), *Mythologie gréco-romaine, mythologies périphériques. Études d'iconographie* (Colloque CNRS 593), Paris 1981, 119-130; M. Gawlikowski, "Les dieux de Palmyre", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II, 18.4, Berlin - New York 1990, 2605-2658, here 2636-2644.

4. Cf. H. Drijvers, "De matre inter leones sedente. Iconography and Character of the Arab Goddess Allat", in Margreet B. de Boer - T. A. Edridge (eds.), *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, 1, Leiden 1978, 331-351.

To be sure, this is never expressed in the inscriptions, which, on the contrary, always mention the two godheads separately. The resemblance between them appears in the iconography: both are represented as queens enthroned between two lions, a long sceptre in hand and a *polos* on the head. Only the inscription, whenever extant, can determine which goddess was meant in each particular case.

A good example in point is a small altar found by the Swiss mission of Paul Collart in the Baalshamin sanctuary in Palmyra.[5] It displays, on three different faces, figures of deities identified with their names written above. Beside Malakbel on his griffin-pulled chariot and the standing warrior named Shaaru, there is also Allat. The goddess is seated in an armchair shown in a side view, a lion crouching beside it. She is clad in the usual garb of Palmyrene ladies, with a veil on her head, and holds an olive branch in her left while raising her right in a blessing gesture. It is to be understood that the lion should be one of a pair flanking the divine seat.[6]

A 3rd-century relief found in Khirbet es-Sane out in the desert NW of Palmyra is dedicated to Allat and Rahim, but shows only the goddess and the donor.[7] She is seated between two animals, headless at present but having the unmistakable feline paws. Unlike other representations of Allat enthroned, she has typical attributes of Athena, such as *aegis*, helmet, shield, and lance. It may be assumed that a mixing-up of two iconographical types, one of standing armed Athena and the other of Allat enthroned, has occurred here. Usually, the two types are separate, though they were applied to the same goddess under either of her two names, Greek or Arabic. Another sculpture from the same rustic sanctuary shows a goddess seated between the lions, while an armed goddess stands beside her.[8] They were interpreted as Atargatis and Allat, respectively,[9] though the seated goddess may be in fact Allat, accompanied by some more obscure desert deity.

Another seated figure in the full frontal view is accompanied by two

5. Ch. Dunant - R. Stucky, *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre*, 4. *Sculptures*, Rome 2000, no. 3, 83-85, pl. 3 (*LIMC* 1, 565, pl. 424, Allath 3).

6. The motive is reproduced on tesserae: *RTP* 164 and Dunant 11.

7. G. Ploix de Rotrou - H. Seyrig, "Khirbet el-Sané", *Syria* 14 (1933) 12-19, pl. 4 (*LIMC* 1, 568, pl. 430, Allath 44).

8. Ploix de Rotrou - Seyrig, *op. cit.*, pl. 5,2 (*LIMC* 1, 566, pl. 420, Allath 22).

9. *LIMC* 1, loc. cit.

lions on a relief found in 1961 in Diocletian's Camp.[10] Though the head is not preserved and there is no inscription, the excavators have correctly guessed the identity of the goddess, as the find took place just some 20 m from the still standing gate of the sanctuary of Allat.

The excavations in the Allat precinct in Palmyra have yielded, among other sculptures, the lower part of a small relief in soft limestone, showing only the legs of the seated goddess and two lions standing to front on either side of the throne.[11] On the plinth, the name "Allat" is neatly inscribed. The lettering, as well as the material of this humble monument, allow a dating in the beginning of the 1st century A.D., if not earlier (Fig. 1).

The two last-mentioned sculptures can be considered as rendering the original cult statue of the Allat temple. Long before an Athenian copy of a Pheidian statue of Athena, standing in arms, came to be installed in the temple,[12] there was a seated statue within a small primitive chapel going back to the middle of the 1st century B.C. at the latest.[13] The idol of Allat is mentioned in the inscription of an altar dedicated in A.D. 115 as being set up by a certain Mattanai, an ancestor of the author. The long family line could be established from this and another inscription, allowing an estimate as to the likely dating of the foundation, not later than the middle of the 1st century B.C.[14]

While the early fragmentary relief could be used to visualise the statue of Allat as it was worshipped in Palmyra from the founding of the

10. K. Michalowski, *Palmyre. Fouilles polonaises 1961*, Warsaw 1963, 172, fig. 224 (*LIMC* 1, 565, pl. 424, Allath 2). Cf. D. Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, Paris 1952, pl. 29,3 (a fragment from Khirbet Farwan).

11. First published by H. Drijvers, "Iconography", 339, pl. 74 (*LIMC* 1, 564, pl. 424, Allath 1). Width (complete) 21 cm, height 26 cm.

12. On this (*LIMC* 1, 566-567, pl. 427, Allath 28), cf. M. Gawlikowski, "Allat-Athena of Palmyra", *Graeco-Arabica* 2 (1983) 217-226; idem, "L'hellénisme et les dieux de Palmyre", in *Ο Ελληνισμός στην Ανατολή*, Athens 1991, 245-256; idem, "The Athena of Palmyra", *Archeologia* 47 (1996) 21-32.

13. Cf. M. Gawlikowski, "Réflexions sur la chronologie du sanctuaire d'Allat à Palmyre", *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 1 (1983) 59-67; idem, "La sanctuaire d'Allat à Palmyre. Apercu préliminaire", *AAAS* 33 (1983) 179-198; idem, "Du ḥamana au naos. Le temple palmyrénien hellénisé", *Topoi* 7 (1997) 837-849.

14. M. Gawlikowski, "Le premier temple d'Allat", in *Resurrecting the Past. A Joint Tribute to Adnan Bounni*, Leiden 1990, 101-108.

sanctuary up to its sack by Roman troops in A.D. 273 (Fig. 2), the existence and main features of this venerable relic can be independently deduced from the actual traces on the original plinth left in place and found in excavation. These traces are compatible with a seated figure flanked by two lateral grooves intended for some long and relatively narrow objects, such as crouching animals. It is anybody's guess of what material the statue was made, but it seems likely that it was assembled from parts of various texture: stone perhaps, but also metal, wood and cloth. Not only life-size sculpture is not known so early in the history of Palmyrene art (certainly an inconclusive argument), but also such an assembled idol would be lighter and could be taken out in processions. Another early monument from the sanctuary, unfortunately fragmentary, shows indeed a procession with a chariot on which a draped figure is seated.[15] It was recently proposed that the scene, considered as identical with the one represented on the well-known relief from the Bel temple, should have illustrated the translation of an idol of Allat to her sanctuary in Palmyra.[16] However it might have been, the goddess seated in her archaic tabernacle had most certainly two lions as guardians of the throne and as arm rests at the same time. While this type can be traced far back into Levantine antiquity, it seems reasonable to admit in the case of Palmyra the direct influence of the contemporary iconography of Atargatis, such as is known first and foremost from the Syrian Hierapolis.[17]

Only after the appearance of the lost statue was firmly established a new monument came to my notice, showing the complete figure of Allat between her lions. Unfortunately, I have only had a glimpse of a rather poor photograph and could secure only a xerox copy of it. Enough can be seen, however, to be sure that this monument, seen by a friend at a dealer's in London, is a complete reproduction of the same statue (Fig. 3). In particular, it is the only replica to have preserved the head, so we

15. First published in E. Ruprechtsberger (ed.), *Palmyra. Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der syrischen Oasenstadt*, Linz 1987, 314, no. 37. L. Dirven, "The Arrival of the Arab Goddess Allat in Palmyra", *Mesopotamia* 33 (1998) 297-308; idem, *The Palmyrenes of Dura-Europos. A Study of Religious Interaction in Roman Syria*, Leiden 1999, 81-86, pl. 19.

16. Dirven, "Arrival"; idem, *Palmyrenes*, ibid.

17. P.-L. van Berg, *Corpus Cultus Deae Syriae* (EPRO 28), Leiden 1972. Cf. H. Seyrig, "Bas-relief des dieux de Hiérapolis", *Syria* 49 (1972) 104, pl. 1; A. Perkins, *The Art of Dura-Europos*, Oxford 1973, 94-96, pl. 38; H. Drijvers, "Die Götter Edessas", in *Festschrift F.-K. Dörner* (EPRO 66), Leiden 1977, 263-283.

can be sure of the presence of a *polos*. The accompanying inscription, which should be dated not later than about A.D. 100, identifies the subject as "the idol (*maṣṣeba*) of Allat", the very term used in A.D. 115 in reference to the founding of the cult in the 1st century B.C.

The idol was established in a small closed shrine called *ḥamana* in a pertinent inscription. Later, this chapel had been encased in a *cella* of classical appearance, which served as an outer shell for the original abode of the goddess.[18] The circumstances remained unchanged until the destruction by the Romans in the late 3rd century. In the restored temple, the old chapel was no more and the marble statue of Athena took the function of the sacked idol. It is possible, though not proven, that the statue has been brought only then to the temple, which became the cult centre of the legionary camp built around the sanctuary.

The installation of Diocletian's camp brought about the dismantling of the eastern wall of the sanctuary in order to adapt its shape to the general layout. The new wall and the replaced gate opening to it were aligned with the *via principalis* of the camp. Some stones have been used in foundations of restored porticoes inside the *temenos*. We could recover a dozen of them having belonged to a monumental relief and restore it in front of Palmyra Museum.[19]

The sculpture represents a huge lion in frontal view and was certainly incorporated into the wall of the sanctuary (Fig. 4). There are no clues as to its exact location, but it would be sensible to suppose that the animal served as a guardian of the gate. As all recovered fragments fit into the restored monument, there is no reason to believe that a symmetrical beast accompanied this one at the other side of the entrance.

The figure of the lion is 3,46 m high from tip to toe and 1,94 m wide at the head. The half-opened mouth shows menacing fangs. The luxurious mane covers entirely the breast, leaving only the front legs apparent. Between these, an antelope is crouching, putting confidently one front leg on the predator's claws. The sculptor rendered precisely the features of *oryx leucoryx* (Pallas 1777), a large animal of white complexion and long straight horns, once frequent in Syrian and Arabian deserts. Extinct in Syria for a while, the species has been lately reintroduced in the Talila

18. M. Gawlikowski, "Motab et ḥamana. Sur quelques monuments religieux du Levant", *Topoi* 9/2 (1999) 491-505, cf. fig. 1.

19. First published in *Revue archéologique* 2 (1977) 274, and illustrated many times ever since.

reserve not far from Palmyra, where a herd of some thirty animals roam now a fenced stretch of the desert.

Though maybe deriving from a hunting motive, the composition clearly intends to convey the impression of an idyllic friendship between the predator and its usual prey. The oryx is being protected between the formidable paws and shows no signs of alarm, while the lion seems to deter the beholder from harming its charge (Fig. 5).

This impression is confirmed by a short text inscribed on the left paw of the lion. It runs: "May Allat bless whoever does not spill blood on the *temenos*."[20] My translation differs from that of Drijvers only in rendering the word *ḥugbā* by the Greek "temenos" rather than "sanctuary", as the former seems to convey better than any English term the idea of sacred, reserved ground that the ancients Arabs called *ḥima* or *ḥaram*.[21] There is no need to impose on *ḥugbā*, with its Aramaic grammatical ending, the sense of more recent Arabic *ḥiǧāb*, "veil", though the idea of a barrier excluding the sacred from the profane does underlie both.[22]

In front of the primitive chapel there stood an altar, preserved in the same place inside the later *cella*. Only the lower part of it subsists today, but the fact that it remained in the 2nd-century temple is proof enough that no animal sacrifice was performed on it. The altar, when complete, had to be rather high and would be intended just for frankincense offering, as most Palmyrene altars were. There are no traces in the *temenos* of a structure that could have supported another altar.

It has been suggested that the symbolism of the lion and oryx, as well as the quoted inscription, could mean that the sanctuary enjoyed asylum rights,[23] but the sacred enclosure is simply too small to allow more or less permanent accommodation of suppliants. The Allat *temenos* is even less appropriate for animals to roam free, as they did in the sanctuary of the Syrian Goddess in Hierapolis according to Lucian.[24]

More importantly, the antique asylum had to be granted by a ruler, in this case a Seleucid king or a Roman emperor, to a major sanctuary or to a whole city.[25] The political circumstances of Palmyra make such a privilege highly unlikely. A simple interdiction to shed blood within the precinct does not constitute an asylum, but a rule of behaviour one would expect in any sanctuary as far as manslaughter was concerned and a ritual prescription particular to this temple in respect to animal sacrifice.

The guardian lion of the Allat sanctuary has been imitated in lesser scale at least twice. One instance is a relief in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (height 57,5 cm, width at the base 28,5 cm), of unknown origin but certainly from Palmyra (Fig. 6).[26] The posture of the lion is exactly the same and the treatment of the mane similar. The smaller animal is different, however: it is an ox, lying between the lion's paws with one front leg bent and the other extended to touch the claws in exactly the same movement as the oryx, but turned to the right. Its head is missing.

The other imitation is even smaller and fragmentary. The sculpture was found recently in the excavations of the Great Colonnade and shows this time a sheep as the protected animal (Fig. 7).

The question whether these replicas (and some similar reliefs showing only a standing lion, e.g. Fig. 8), come from the sanctuary of Allat or some other location is a moot point. The same symbolism could have suited, no doubt, the requirements of various cults and the cult of Allat could of course be practised beyond the limits of her sanctuary.

20. H. Drijvers, "Sanctuaries and Social Safety. The Iconography of Divine Peace in Hellenistic Syria", *Visible Religion. Annual for Religious Iconography* 1 (1982) 65; D. Hillers - E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts (PAT)*, Baltimore 1996, no. 1122.

21. Cf. M. Gawlikowski, "The Sacred Space in Ancient Arab Religions", in A. Hadidi (ed.), *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, 1, Amman 1982, 301-303.

22. On this term, see B. Aggoula, "Dédicace palmyrénienne à la Renommée et à la Miséricorde", *Semitica* 27 (1977) 117-122.

23. Drijvers, *op. cit.* (n. 17).

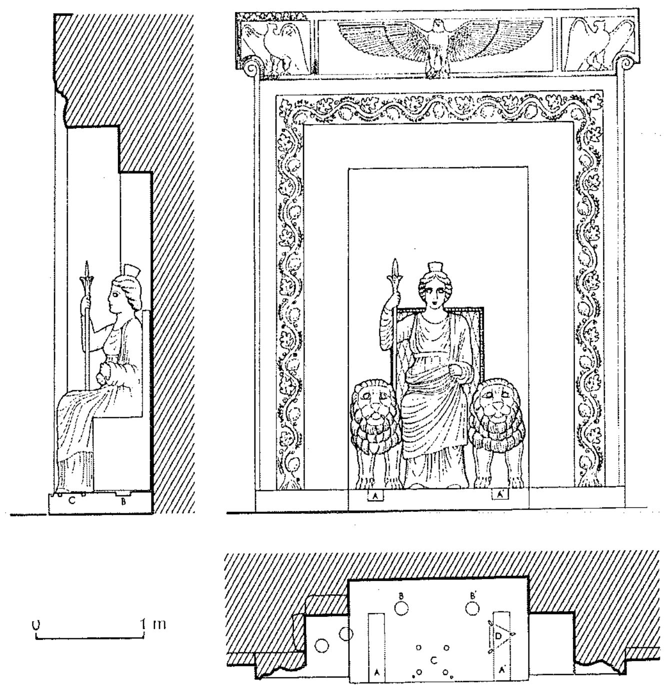
24. H. W. Attridge - R. A. Oden, *The Syrian Goddess (De Dea Syria) attributed to Lucian*, Missoula 1979, 50-51, ch. 41.

25. Cf. M. Sartre, *D'Alexandre à Zénobie. Histoire du Levant antique, IVe siècle av. J.-C. - IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.*, Paris 2001, 176-177, 704.

26. *NCG* 1154; M. A. R. Colledge, *The Art of Palmyra*, London 1976, 110.



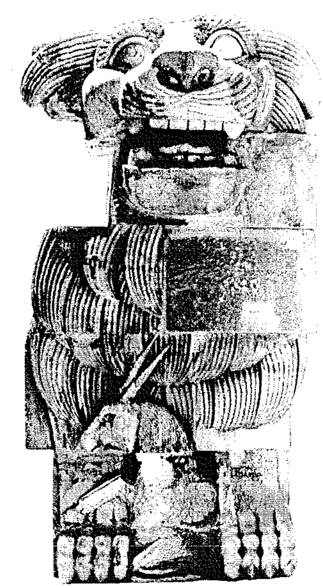
1. Allat seated between her lions. From the temple of Allat.



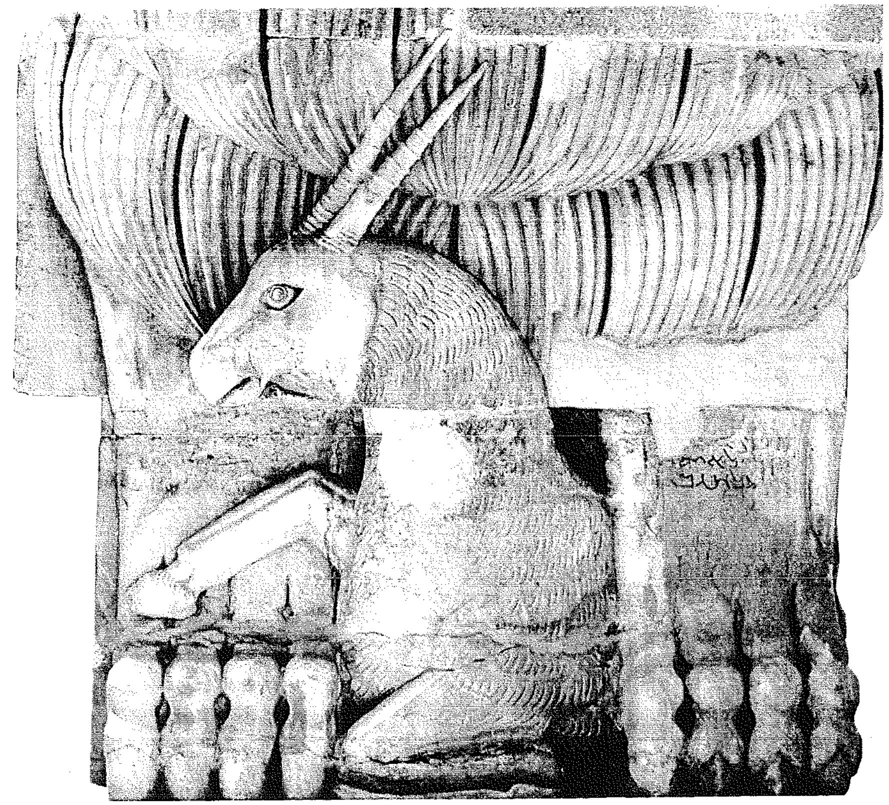
2. A graphic restoration of the statue of Allat in her chapel (M. Puszkarski).



3. A relief of seated Allat. Seen on the London market (drawing M. Puszkarski).



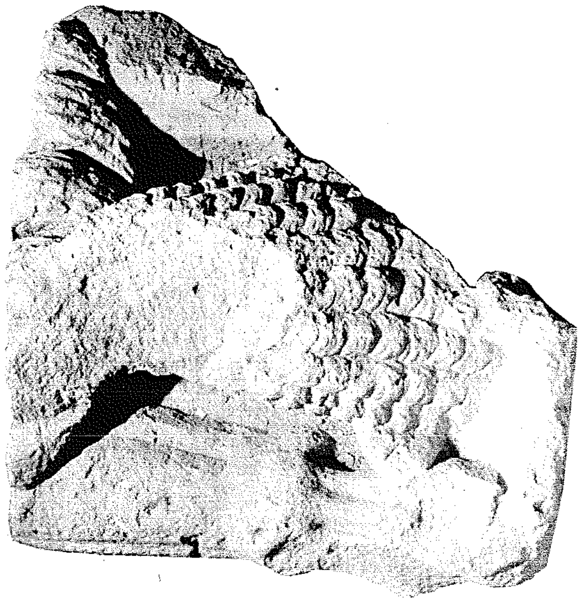
4. The guardian of the sanctuary, restored in front of Palmyra Museum. Palmyra Museum.



5. The protected oryx and the inscription.



6. The Copenhagen lion and the protected ox (courtesy of NC Glyptotek).



7. A fragment in Palmyra: lion and sheep.



8. A small lion, Palmyra Museum.

Ruthy Gertwagen

DOES NAVAL ACTIVITY — MILITARY AND COMMERCIAL — NEED ARTIFICIAL PORTS? THE CASE OF VENETIAN HARBOURS AND PORTS IN THE IONIAN AND AEGEAN SEA TILL 1500

It is generally assumed that naval activity, military or commercial, which requires construction and maintenance of vessels, loading and unloading of commodities, equipment and people, supplying of provisions, water and other necessities, demands in all periods artificial ports. An approach, which fits well into the paradigms established by M. Mollat, J. Gilissene and Ch. Verlinden, who however stressed more the importance of the commercial and institutional function. Their studies, along with a number of others on more specific themes, were all published in 1974 in three volumes dedicated to ports from ancient times to the modern era. Many of these studies shared common characteristics. While they dealt with ports or escales functions – ports of call, none differentiated between artificial ports, built with moles, breakwaters and quays, natural harbours or havens and coastal settlements.[1] The volume that deals with Mediterranean port towns, compiled in 1989, convey similar approach and suffers from similar faults. The scholars that deal mainly with the urban architecture and social aspects of the towns, treat them, previous to the construction of the artificial ports, if these were ever

1. M. Mollat, "Allocution d'ouverture", *Recueils de la société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des Institutions/Les Grandes escales* 35 (1974) 7-13; J. Gilissen, "Une typologie des escales, histoire des grandes escales vue sous l'angle institutionnel", *ibid.*, 681-731; C. Verlinden, "Les grandes escales, synthèthese gènèral vue sous l'angle économie", *ibid.*, 657-679. For the definition of the term "artificial port" in modern times see Alfonzo de F. Quinn, *Design and Construction of Ports and Marine Structures*, New York 1961.

built, as port towns.[2] Nevertheless, the studies of 1974 and 1989 show that maritime activity, naval and mercantile, was carried out in natural havens or harbours or along the coasts. In other words they prove - yet unconsciously - that maritime activity did not necessitate artificial ports. Nevertheless, the coastal settlements could have functioned as port towns with the necessary buildings and facilities. This study will show that this is also the case with the colonies of the Venetian Empire in the Ionian and Aegean seas.

The Venetian Empire was founded after the Fourth Crusade, which ended with the conquest of Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire (1204). The gradual recovery of the Byzantines since the second decade of the 13th century, culminating in their reconquest of Constantinople in 1261, reduced the territorial achievements of Venice since 1204. Venice regained some of the territories and acquired others during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[3] The main maritime territories held directly by Venice for the longest period till 1500 were, in geographic order, Corfu, Modone (modern Methoni) and Corone in the Ionian, and the islands of Crete and Negroponte (modern Chalkis and Euboea) in the Aegean Sea. (Fig. 1)

The partition agreement in 1204 of the former Byzantine Empire

It is generally assumed that the above-mentioned colonies had possessed artificial harbours or ports rich with maritime commercial activity prior to the Venetian occupation, which was one of the reasons Venice required them in the partition agreement of the former Byzantine Empire in 1204.[4]

The examination of this partition agreement shows that Crete and Corone were not mentioned.[5] Crete, as Jacoby has already pointed out, was till the Fourth Crusade a marginal commercial base for Venice, albeit the fact that Venetian traders increased their trade in the island since the 1130s

2. E. Poleggi (ed.), *Città portuali del Mediterraneo, storia e archeologia*, Genova 1989.

3. F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Age; le development e l'exploitation du domain colonial vénitien (XIIe- XVe siècles)*, Paris 1975, 74-78, 86, n. 1, 151, 383-385; F. Lane, *Venice, a Maritime Republic*, London 1973, 36-42.

4. Thiriet, *La Romanie*, 108, 122-124; J. E. Dotson, "Economics and Logistics of Galleys Warfare", in R. Gardiner - J. S. Morrison (eds.), *The Age of the Galley* (Conway's History of the Ship 10), London 1995, 219; M. Gallina, *Una società Coloniale del trecento. Creta Fra Venezia e Bisanzio*, Venice 1989, 1-2 and nn. 1, 3.

5. The text of the partition agreement may be found in *Urkunden zum Alter Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, ed. by G. L. Fr. Tafel - G. M. Thomas, Amsterdam 1964, 452- 501.

and mainly in the second half of the 12th century.[6] Furthermore, Crete was of marginal position in relation to the main trunk Aegean sea lanes. One has also to bear in mind that in 1204, in anticipation of the capture of Constantinople, Venice compelled its allies to grant it the commercial privileges and tax exemptions enjoyed in the Byzantine Empire. Nevertheless, Venice took over the island by buying it in 1204 from Boniface of Montferrat, one of the Crusader leaders, in order to prevent its possession by the Genoese, their rivals, who might have prevented the excessive privileges the Venetians had ensured themselves. Moreover, even after the possession of Crete by Venice, the Venetians did not establish immediate control over the Island, due to its marginal position. Consequently, the delay was taken advantage by Genoese corsairs, to step into the vacuum. The first was Enrico Pescatore, the Genoese Count of Malta, that in 1206 captured almost the whole island and held it till 1211 and, in 1215-1217 it was Almano da Costa. His capture by the Venetians in 1217 led to a peace treaty with the Genoese the next year.[7]

Corone, on the other hand, was conquered, incidentally, in 1207 by Ranieri Dandolo and Roger Permarino on behalf of Venice, along with Corfu and Methoni, that had been required by Venice in the partition agreement of the former Byzantine Empire.[8] Albeit the fact that Corone, like Methoni, its western neighbour, had been a commercial centre, frequented in the 11th and 12th centuries by the Venetians, as attested by the Byzantine Golden Bullae to Venice in 1082, 1147 and 1198, Venice did not require it in the partition agreement of 1204.[9]

In Negroponte (modern Chalkis), Venice did not require in 1204 the whole island and did not get the town of Negroponte but received Karystos

6. D. Jacoby, "Creta e Venezia nel contesto economico del Mediterraneo orientale sino alla metà del Quatrocento" in G. Ortalli (ed.), *Venezia e Creta, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, Venice 1998, 73-106, here 75-76.

7. J. K. Fotheringham, "Genoa and the Fourth Crusade", *English Historical Review* 25 (1910) 4-41; Ruthi Gertwagen, "Concept of Medieval Ports in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean: Construction and Maintenance on Crete to the End of the Fifteenth Century", *International Journal of Maritime History* 12 (2000) 177-242, here 189-190.

8. For the reason for their conquest, see below and n. 41.

9. Thiriet, *La Romanie*, 39. The maritime importance of Corone grew in the 11th century, when the sea lane along the SE coast of the Peloponnese became the main sea route connecting the Ionian and Adriatic seas with the Western Mediterranean: H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer: La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VIIe-XVe siècles*, Paris 1966, 195.

at the south of the island and Oreos at its north-east. Oreos was important due to its strategic location that controlled the northern access inside the island and the exit from the gulf of Armilro/Almiro, where the Venetian had many commercial interests. The importance of Karystos, as we shall see below, was navigational. Since 1209, however, Venice increased its hold over the whole island of Negroponte. The feudal Latin lords of Negroponte saw themselves subjects of the Latin emperor of Constantinople and since 1248 also of the principality of the Morea and of Venice. Only in 1390, did the political circumstances enable Venice to annex the whole island.[10]

No ports prior to Venetian occupation

There were no artificial ports prior to the Venetian occupation in the above-mentioned territories, except of Candia in Crete and of Corfu. The artificial port in Candia that had been built by the Moslems in the 9th century, along with the town, had already been in ruins long before 1204.[11] At Corfu, there was an anchorage at the south of the medieval city, built on Cape Sidero. The anchorage was protected by some kind of a breakwater - porporella.[12] It is not known who had built the porporella. One has to bear in mind that Venice regained Corfu gradually since 1386, after having lost it in 1215/1261 to the Byzantine despot of Epirus and, finally Venice bought officially the island in 1393.[13] The evidence for the poporella is indirect, and is attested in the Venetian bailo's report in 1387 to the Senate in the Metropolis. The report was required for the discussions in the Senate

10. D. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce Médiévale. Les "Assises de Romanie", sources, application et difffusion*, Paris - La Haye 1971; idem, "La Venezia d'oltremare nel secondo Duecento", in G. Gracco - G. Ortalli (eds.), *Storia di Venezia*, 2. *L'età del Commune*, Rome 1995, 263-299, here 271. Regarding Oreos see Thiriet, *La Romanie*, 87.

11. Gertwagen, "Concept", 193-196.

12. A study on "Corfu and its port in the Venetian policy in the Ionian and southern Adriatic in the late 14th and 15th centuries" is to be published in 2004 by the present author. For the natural havens of Saint Angelo and Saint Cazopolis see Ruthy Gertwagen, "Harbours, Ports and facilities along the sea lane to the Holy Land in How they made War in age of the Crusades", J. Pryor (ed.) (in print).

13. E. Bacchion, *Il dominio veneto su Corfù (1386-1797)*, Venice 1956, 11-13; Jacoby, *Féodalité*, 253 and n. 1-4; F. Thiriet, "Les interventions vénitiennes dans les iles ioniennes au XIVe siècle", in idem, *Etudes sur la Romanie greco-vénitienne (Xe-XVe siècles)*, London 1977, no. X, 375-376.

regarding the construction of an artificial port in Corfu. Theoretically, 15-20 galleys and other vessels of 200-300 milliaria could anchor inside the porporella. However, in 1387 the porporella had already been in ruins and in order to build an artificial port in this area, vast operation for the consolidation of the coast had to be taken. Venice therefore gave up the idea. It was only in 1401 that the Senate instructed to built the port of Corfu, at the north of the medieval city, above which the present yacht port is built.[14]

Documents of all sorts, like pilgrims' itineraries, itineraries of naval fleets, geographic- historic descriptions, chronicles, etc., refer to the future Venetian port towns in the colonies as fortified coastal settlements or unfortified coastal settlements. So did Saewulf, regarding Corfu and Negroponte at the early 12th century, Fulcher of Chartre 's description of Bohemund' Crusade in 1126 via Corfu and Methoni, Idrisi in the mid 12th century regarding Corfu, Methoni, Corone and Candia and, the Chronicle of the Morea, regarding Methoni and Corone.[15]

The first 100-150 years of Venetian occupation

There was no immediate change of the above-mentioned situation after the Venetian occupation. The itinerary of Frederick II to the Holy Land in 1228 neglected the existence of artificial ports in Corfu, Methoni and Candia.[16] Corfu, as mentioned above, had already not been in Venetian hands for circa ten years. The portulan of the mid-thirteenth century, the "Il Compasso da Navigare", while referring to artificial ports (*porti*) it either described them or indicated the fact that they were built by a mole, like the port of Trani or Ancona.[17] It however denies artificial ports in Corfu, Methoni, Corone, Candia and Karystos. This portulan calls Corone the *castello*, undoubtedly refering to the medieval city (not the Venetian suburb

14. Archivio di Stato di Venezia (hereafter ASV), Senato Misti-Secreta, reg. 40, f. 78r: 22.4.1387, f. 79r: 9.5.1387, f. 97v: 2.6.1387, f. 79r: 9.5.1387 and see below, n. 48.

15. R. B. C Huygens (ed.), *Peregrinationes Tres, Saewulf, Iohannes Wirziburgensis, Theodericus*, Turnholti 1994, 59-60. Saewulf ignored Karystos; "Fulcherii Carnotensis, Historia Hierosolymitana", ed. by Hagenmayer in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, 3, Paris 1866, 482; Idrisi, *La première géographie de l'occident*, ed. by H. Bresc - A. Nef, Paris 1999, 345, 348-349; *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. J. Schmitt, Groningen 1967, 114-116, 186.

16. J.-L.-A. Huillard-Bréholles (ed.), *Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi*, 1-2, Paris 1852, 899.

on the sea shore) that was located on a promontory. In Crete it recommended the anchorage in the southern bay of the island of Standea, located north to the city of Candia. The portulan calls each of the bays of Corone, Methoni and Karystos, 'bon porto', in the meaning of natural haven with adequate depth of water for the draft of the vessels, however many times unprotected against the prevailing winds, like in Methoni and Karystos.[18] Regarding Methoni, it should be pointed out that, there was no reference in the formal Venetian documents dealing with the refortification of the town in April 1293 and in 1294 to the building of a local artificial port.[19] The pilgrims of the first half of the 14th century also refer to Methoni as a coastal settlement.[20]

Examining the documents relating to the Venetian occupation reveals the following. No artificial ports built with sea walls - moles - were ever built in the medieval period in Karystos neither in Negroponte. In Crete the early Moslem port of Candia was only repaired, if at all, in the early 14th century, rebuilt and enlarged at the end of the 1340s and, adapted to anchorage for the draft of the various types of ships inside the moles by dredging operations after the third Genoese War (1351-1355).[21] In Corone, a mole was built in 1315.[22] The artificial port in Methoni was constructed in 1358 or right afterwards.[23] In Corfu the initial discussions in the Senate in Venice regarding the construction of the artificial port north to the medieval town began in 1387, one year after Venice had begun controlling part of the island. Nevertheless, only in the early 15th century did the Venetian Senate

17. *Il Compasso da Navigare, opera italiana della metà del secolo XIII*, ed. by R. B. Motzo, Cagliari 1947, 29-30, here 28: "under the title of Brindiai=Brandiczo: Trani e porto de molo"; 29: "La Cità d'Ancona: ...e lo porto è facto da molo".

18. *Ibid.*, 32: Corfu; 34-35: Motona; 35: "castello Coronese" is mentioned in the last paragraph named "Motona"; 40-41: Caristo. It denies also an artificial port in Negroponte, and only mentions the city - "la città de Negroponte" and the adjacent bridge to cross the strait: 42 and 50: "La città di Candia"; Gertwagen, "Venetian Modon", 132-133,138; idem, "Concept", 181, 214.

19. R. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2-3, Bologna 1931-1934, here 3, 336, no. 19: April 1293. The instruction for the reconstruction of Methoni was repeated a year later: *ibid.*, 357, no. 14.

20. "Itinerary of Father Simon Fitzsmonis (1322-1323)", in E. Hoade (ed.), *Western Pilgrims*, Jerusalem 1952, 6-20, here 9; "Itinerary of a Certain Englishman (1344-1345)", *ibid.*, 48-76, here 56.

21. Gertwagen, "Concept", 213, 219-220.

22. ASV Maggior Consiglio Clericus Civicus, f. 27r.

23. Gertwagen, "Venetian Modon", 158 and n. 5.

discuss the practical means to be taken for this purpose. The operation, however, ended in the 1430s.[24] In another words, the average time that elapsed between the beginning of the Venetian occupation of the colonies till the construction of their ports, was, except of Corfu, 100-150 years.

Nevertheless the lack of artificial ports in the first 100-150 years of Venetian occupation, they were frequented by both mercantile vessels and naval fleets. Resolutions of the Maggior Consiglio in Venice In the 13th century sent to the castellani of Corone and Methoni referred to commercial transactions of Venetian merchants in Dalmatia, Apulia Clarentza and Corone. The transactions are also indicated in private commercial contracts.[25] Other resolutions of the Maggior Consiglio in Venice, that dealt with commodities that had to be brought from Romania and the Levant by merchant convoys – mude – referred to Negroponte and Crete. For the services that the castellani of Corone and Methoni, the regimen of Crete and the bailo of Negroponte had to provide one of these convoys with – the muda of October 1282 – they received a loan from Venice.[26] The type of services is unknown. These could be supplies of biscuits, supplement of armament or manpower, of missing equipment – rigging, anchors repairs for the vessels or supplement, naval escort etc.

Posts of admiral and installations – arsenals – were accordingly created and built, albeit the absence of artificial ports. At the 1280s Venice appointed admirals in Negroponte and Corone, who were in charge of providing the above-mentioned services. They were also in charge of the arsenals that were built in Candia and in Corone in the 1280s and in Negroponte in the second decade of the 14th century. In Candia the regimen was in charge of the arsenal till the creation in 1322 of the local post of admiral.[27]

Furthermore, the import and export tax – commercium – levied in Candia prove its role in the international maritime activity. It is also attest to by the notary acts of 1300 that clearly show that Crete was frequented by

24. See above, n. 12.

25. Cessi, *Deliberazioni*, vol. 2, 12, no. 123, 75, no. 122, 135, nos. 33-34; vol. 3, 25-26, no. 35, 62-63, no. 7, 103-104, no. 48 and passim; R. Morozzo della Rocca - A. Lombardo (eds), *I Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI-XIII*, 1-2, Turin 1940, here vol. 2, 94, no. 551, 226, no. 692.

26. Cessi, *Deliberazioni*, vol. 2, 137, no. 41; vol. 3, 25-26, 63-64, no. 2, 67, nos. 137, 204, 103-104, no. 48, 205, no. 52, 257, no. 185; F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, 1-3, Paris - La Haye 1958-1961, here vol. 1, 57, n. 177.

27. For the arsenal and admiral in Crete, see Gertwagen, "Concept", 203-204, 228; for the arsenal in Corone, see Cessi, *Deliberazioni*, vol. 2, 350; vol. 3, 38, no. 102, 197, no. 174.

non-Venetian traders from all over the Mediterranean, many of whom made Candia their place of residence. The vessels anchored during rough weather either in the island of Standia, north to the town or, in the haven of Fraschea, at the northwestern end of the Gulf of Candia. Small boats owned by the locals handled the cargo. In calm weather, however, the ships used to anchor along the sandy coast where they loaded and unloaded cargo. Customs (*commercium*) were paid at the gates of the city that opened towards the sea-shore. Since the end of the 13th century (1299-1298) the customs were listed in the "registers of the coast gates" (*ordo ripe maris*).[28]

The absence of Methoni and Karystos in the above-mentioned resolution of the Venetian Maggior Consiglio is conspicuous, albeit the fact that both of them were obligatory ports of call due to navigation conditions.

Karystos owed its strategic-navigational importance to the difficult navigation conditions inside the Channel of Negroponte as well as crossing the Strait of Doro, between the island of Andros and Cape Kaphereus. Doro is located on the north-eastern arm of the gulf of Pteloi. (fig. 2). Sailing from the Aegean, through Pteloi Gulf into the channel of Negroponte, the vessels had to make their way against prevailing northern winds, the meltemi, that reach the force of 6-7 knots and, against adverse currents that reached with strong meltemi the force of 8.5. Furthermore, the vessels had also to confront with shallows, sandbars and reefs along Pteloi Gulf. The manoeuvering ability of the naves only propelled by sails was therefore very limited, especially against stormy meltemi. The more so the navigation was difficult and hazardous for the galleys, mainly for the war galleys but also for the merchant galleys. They could indeed make their way by rowing, but then, they were in danger of swept over by waves and sinking. This danger was attributed to their low freeboard, which prevented them heeling too far. The galleys would have found the waves of 0.5-1 meters challenging and waves of 1.2 meters beyond their capabilities. A heel more than 10 degrees put the leeward oars of the galleys in danger of being smashed by the wave crests, an event that would have made them unmanageable. Furthermore, as their speed with oars was 3 knots during daytime and 1.5 knots during the night, the galleys found it very hard to maintain stability and advancement

For the admiral in Negroponte and Corone: Ibid., p. 110, no. 100, pp. 379-380, no. 38; For the arsenal in Negroponte, see D. Jacoby, "Les gens de mer de la marine de guerre venitienne de la mer Egee aux XIVe et XVe siècles", in R. Ragosta (ed.), *Le genti del mare Mediterraneo*, Naples 1983, 169-201, here 189, no. 102.

28. Gertwagen, "Concept", 194, 201-202.

with proper pace against the strong contrary current. It is reasonable that during the southerly or southwestern winds only, that converse the direction of the northern current, the naves and galleys could make their way easily northwards, to Negroponte. When however these winds reach the force of storms, the speed of the current running northwards increases and reaches the force of 8.5 knots. On the other hand, when the southern storms calm down, the force of the current running southwards increases for a day or two days, till the water level at both ends of the channel of Negroponte balances itself to its normal level. At the narrowest passage of the Strait of Negroponte – near the town of Negroponte, where at present its width is 40 meters and the currents change their directions four times a day, the force of the currents reaches 7 knots. Furthermore, near the town of Negroponte there were two wooden bridges that connected both sides of the town to the continent. Only one of the bridges rose up. Consequently the naves couldn't cross the other bridge north to Negroponte to Oreos Bay, the exit from which to the northern Aegean was through the channel of Trikeri. In order to reach the north east of the Mediterranean, the naves had to return to the south east of Pteloi Gulf – to Karystos. The galleys, in contrast to the naves, could dismantle the masts and the rigging and go under the fixed bridge with only the oars. Nevertheless, the sailing northwards, along Oreos Bay was once again against the meltemi and the strong currents, that reach the force also in Trikeri channel to 2.5 knots. Moreover, crossing the Oreos Bay required high dexterity, due to sandbars and reefs. Moving among them was dangerous especially with the meltemi, as there was no shelter to escape to.[29] In April 1407 the Venetian Senate discussed the galleys that had been shipwrecked in Negroponte and, in November 1408, January 1409 and June 1414, the Senate discussed the worsening of the risks that expected the

29. The tidal currents of Trikeri Channel and Oreos Bay, N of Negroponte, were the source of the currents in Pteloi Bay; for the winds and currents regime along the whole Strait of Negroponte, see *Mediterranean Pilot*[10], 4, London 1987, 236; R. Heikel, *Greek Waters Pilot*[4], London 1990, 223-224. Regarding the currents in the narrowest passage near the town of Negroponte, see S. Em. le Cardinal A. Baudrillart - A. De Meyer - Et. Van Cauwenbergh (eds.), *Dictionnaire d'histoire et géographie ecclésiastiques*, 2, Paris 1949, 421, s.v. "Euripe"; J. Koder, *Negroponte. Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euboia wahrend der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft*, Vienna 1973, 42. Pryor relates the navigation difficulties for merchant galleys: J. Pryor, "Winds, Waves and Rocks: The Routes and the Perils along Them", in K. Friedland (ed.), *Maritime Aspects of Migrations*, Cologne 1989, 71-85, here 83. Regarding the wooden bridges, see: L. Le Grand, "Nicolai de Marthono, notarii, liber peregrinationis ad Loca Sancta", *Revue de*

galleys crossing the narrow passage under the southern bridge of the town because of sandbars and silt brought by the currents.[30]

Due to the above-mentioned information, it is no wonder that the naval fleets that reached the town of Negroponte did not cross to the northern section of the strait on their way to Constantinople but returned to Karystos, in the south eastern end of the channel of Pteloi thence sailed to the north-east of the Aegean through the strait of Doro, between the island of Andros and Cape Kafrives. So did Paganino Doria with the Genoese fleet in 1351 after having besieged Negroponte, on his way to the battle of the Bosporus against the Venetians in 1352;[31] Amadeus VI on his way to Gallipoli in 1366 after having stayed at Negroponte for two weeks. The fact that his vessels carried masts with flags while leaving Negroponte[32] proves that his fleet did not cross the bridges of Negroponte but instead, it left the channel of Negroponte via Karystos and sailed to the Dardanelles via the Strait of Doro. After having conquered Negroponte in July 1470, the Ottoman fleet made his exit from the channel the same way it had entered it, via Karystos and Cape Mantello. On the way back, it sailed through the Doro Strait versus the island of Chios against stormy Meltemi.[33]

The difficult navigation conditions in the Strait of Doro are quite frequent. When the Meltemi reaches force of 7 knots, in spring and autumn at noon and during the whole winter and the summer, there are strong storm

l'Orient Latin 3 (1895) 566-669, here 654-655. For the repair of one of the bridges, the Venetian Senate decided in March 1394 to send beams from the Arsenal in Venice: ASV Senato Misti-Secreta, reg. 42, f.156r: 5.3.1394. Koder claims that in the medieval period one of the bridges was built of stone and it extended from the mainland to a short distance from the island; a short wooden bridge that was lifted whenever necessary, was connected to the stone bridge: Koder, *Negroponte*, 81. The custom of the galleys to dismantle the mast and the rigging while going under the bridge is already reported in the early 12th century CE: J. Pryor, "The Voyage of Saewulf", in Huygens (ed.), *Peregrinationes Tres*, 35-77, here 40.

30. It should be indicated that the discussions in 1407 did not specify where in Negroponte the war galleys were shipwrecked: ASV Senato Misti-Secreta, reg. 47, f. 99r: 6.3.1407; *ibid.*, reg. 48, f. 122: 23.1.1409; C. N. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Age*, 1-3, Athens - Paris 1880-1890, here vol. 2, 170, no. 404, 215, no. 455; vol. 3, 61, no. 614; Koder, *Negroponte*, 84.

31. M. Balard, "A propos de la bataille du Bosphore: l'expédition génoise de Paganino Doria à Constantinople (1351-1352)", *Travaux et mémoires* 4 (1970) 431-469, here 438.

32. K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, 1, Philadelphia 1976, 298.

33. "Annali veneti dall'anno 1457-1500 del senatore Domenico Malipiero ordinato e abbreviati dal senatore Francesco Longomcon prefazione e annotazione di Agostino Segredo", *Archivio Storico Italiano* 7/1 (1843) 50, 56, 60.

descending from the mountains. These might reach the force of 8 knots in Doro Strait, at the southern shores of the island of Andros and in the strait of Keos or Zia, between the island bearing the same name and the southern arm of Pteloi Gulf.[34] Then the force of the currents that reaches this zone from the Straits of the Dardanelles increases. The currents are strong in the narrow channel that separates between the islands of Andros and its southern neighbour, Tinos, in the wide channel that separates between the islands of Mykonos Ikaria at its south and in Doro Strait and, reach force of 5 knots.[35] At the beginning of the 13th century, Michael Choniates complained that due to the strong northern winds and the stormy sea, he found it very hard to maintain constant relations from his home on the island of Keos with his neighbours – the island of Negroponte and the island of Andros, north to Keos.[36] The bays in the north-west of the islands of Keos and Andros were in the past as they are today obligatory ports of call for anchorage in such situations.[37] The bay of Karystos on the other hand, fails to provide shelter against the Meltemi as it is exposed to the violent winds descending from the mountains. Instead, the small bay of Castri, "Castriso" according to the *Il Compasso da Navigare* of the mid-13th century, located southeast to the bay of Karystos, provides absolute protection against the Meltemi. Today small yachts also anchor in the Bay of Castri, waiting for the strong winds and currents in Doro Strait to calm down.[38] The importance of Castri bay is attested by the fact that during periods of tension between Venice and Genoa, Genoese commercial ships anchored here, like in 1350. These ships that were on their way to the Black Sea were captured by the Venetians, as retaliation for the capture in September the same year of Venetian ships by the Genoese in Caffa, in northeast of the Black Sea. Eventually, the Genoese from Chios retaliated by attacking the island of Keos. That was the reason for the above-mentioned Doria's attack in 1351 of Negroponte on his way to Constantinople. During this attack, Simone Lecavella, the captain of a Genoese espionage galley, spent the night in the

34. Heikel, *Greek Waters Pilot*, 156.

35. *Black Sea Pilot*, England 1988, 85-86; *Mediterranean Pilot*, London 1987 (10th edition), IV, 9, 214, 251.

36. Elisabeth Malamut, *Les Iles de l'Empire Byzantin, VIIIe-XII-e siècles*, 1-2, Paris 1988, here vol. 2, 541 and 560, n. 17.

37. Heikel, *Greek Waters Pilot, loc. cit.*

38. *Ibid.*, 231-241. It might be that due to the proximity of both bayes, Koder attributed the values of Karisti Bay to that of Kastri: Konder, *Negroponte*, *loc. cit.*, "Il Compasso da Navigare", 41. I accept Heyd's identification of the location of Kastri Bay: E. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen age*, 1-2, Amsterdam 1959, here vol. 1, 52 and n. 7.

Bay of Kastri, before sailing the following morning to the town of Negroponte to meet the Genoese fleet.[39] Due to its strategic location, Venice required the bay of Kastro that included Castri in the partition agreement of the former Byzantine empire in 1204. Due to similar reasons Venice required Methoni in 1204.

Methoni was an obligatory port of call before leaving the Ionian and before entering this area northwards, because of the unpredictable weather conditions in the Ionian.[40] As a result it was attractive to pirates, who pillaged the commercial unprotected craft. Just few years before the Fourth Crusade a Genoese pirate, Leone Vetrone, attacked Corfu in 1199 and eventually settled at the western side of the island, facing the sea route coming eastwards from Cape Santa Maria de Leuca, at the north of Cape Otranto. In 1207, he moved to Modon, where three years earlier, in 1204, another Genoese pirate, William Porco had caught a ship coming from Constantinople that carried relics of Saints – a gift of the Latin Emperor to the Pope. From Methoni, the same Leone Vetrone moved to Corone. Chasing him from Corfu, to Methoni and Corone in 1207, Ranieri Dandolo and Roger Permarino conquered these places.[41] These incidents also convey the background for the occupation of Corone in 1207 and pinpoint the motives behind Venice's choice of Corfu and Methoni in the former partition agreement of the Byzantine Empire in 1204. It was due to their strategic location and the danger of their occupation either by pirates or enemies of Venice.

The construction of the ports and the effects of the problems of their maintenance

A declaration in April 1358 of the Venetian Senate regarding the motive of the construction of the port of Methoni is very instructive: "Since the beginning of our occupation, the town [castron] of Methoni has always been depopulated, and the situation might worsen and will worsen as one can

39. "Raphayni de Caresinis Cancellarii Venetiarum Chronica 1343-1388", ed. by I. Pastorello in L. A. Muratori (ed.), *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 12/2, Bologna 1939, 6.

40. Gertwagen, "Venetian Modon", 127-129; idem, "Ports of call".

41. Fotheringham, "Genoa", 31 and nn. 2-21; *Annali Genovesi, di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori, dal MCLXXIV al MCCXXIV*, ed. by L. T. Belgrano - C. Imperiale di Sant' Angelo, 2, Genova 1901, 93; M. Balard, "Les Génois en Romanie entre 1204 et 1261 - Recherches dans les minutiers notariaux génois", in idem, *La mer Noire et la Romanie génoise (XIIIe-XVe siècles)*, London 1989, no. I, 474.

clearly claim, due to the lack of an artificial port [which is the fault of this place".[42] In other words, the motive for the construction of the port was not for providing the ships with anchorage facilities – moles to be tied to and along with quays to enable loading and unloading of cargoes, passengers etc. The port was built for the protection of the anchoring vessels and of the town, nevertheless its fortifications, against attacks from the sea, that eventually caused to deprivation of Methoni of mercantile opportunities. The Venetians themselves were well familiar with the disadvantage of the absence of artificial port in Methoni, when they were in the 12th century in the position of attackers. Then they succeeded in demolishing twice the walls of Methoni. In 1125 they revenged the Byzantine Emperor's refusal to renew the commercial privileges.[43] The second time the Venetians destroyed the walls of Methoni was, according to the chronicle of the Morea, a retaliation against the 'Roman people', who were actually the Normans. These led in 1147 raids in the Ionian and the Peloponnese, and occupied Ragusa, Corfu and Methoni, three strategic locations along the sea lane leading from the Adriatic to the eastern Mediterranean and turned them into pirates' nests. Pirates did not need special installations for their vessels as these were with shallow draft that could easily be pulled on shore. The Byzantines, whose naval provincial fleet did not exist anymore in this period, asked Venice for help. Venice agreed very willingly, as it wished to eliminate the Norman danger for its mercantile craft in the Adriatic and Ionian. A combined Byzantine-Venetian fleet attacked in 1147 the Normans near Corfu and defeated them.[44] The above-mentioned declaration of the Venetian Senate attest indirectly to the continuing pillaging of Methoni by maritime forces since 1207 that eventually caused to the depopulation of the town. One can assume that the Venetian families sent to repopulate Methoni in 1301, or their descendants, were those who had left. Such a semi-abandoned site, with a natural harbour situated at a strategic location, posed severe security problems to Venice. The more so with the increasing Genoese threat since the late 13th century on Venice's colonies. In 1354, the battle that took place around the island of Sapienza, at the south-west of the gulf of Methoni, where the Genoese anchored on their back home after the

42. ASV Senato Misti-Secreta, reg. 28, f. 41v: "Cum a tempore quo castrum Mothoni fuit sub dominatione et protectione nostrum, sempre fuerit male populatum vel habitatum et hoc processit et procedat ut clare censeri potest ex carencia portus deficiente dicto loco".

43. A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204*, Paris 1951, 170 and n. 2.

44. The Bulla of 1082 is included in the Bulla of 1147; *ibid.*, 155 and n. 1; Ahrweiler, *Byzance*, 163-171.

Battle of the Bosporus (1352), conveys the idea very well.[45] If they had conquered Methoni, they might have jeopardised the navigation route of Venice to the eastern Mediterranean and eventually endangered the Venetian maritime empire and its mercantile maritime activity. No wonder that four years after this battle the Venetian Senate decided to authorise the construction of the port that will bring back the Venetian citizens.

There are three other cases to support the argument of the security motive for construction of ports. In two of the cases the danger of depopulation of the coastal settlements by the Venetians settlers was also related. These were Chania and Rethimnon in Crete. In order to narrow the western entrance of the port of Chania, the Rector of Chania in 1387 stressed to Venice two essential motives. The first was to enable safe anchorage for all type of vessels. The second motive was to ensure protection against attacks from the sea. The Rector emphasised that stationing troops permanently to protect the wide circumstance of the natural port might have been much more expensive than enclosing the port with moles. Indeed Chania had a long record of attacks, such as the one by the Genoese in 1266. During the third Genoese War (1351-1355) the fear of a similar attack led the Rector to destroy buildings in the exposed *burgus* outside the city walls to deprive invaders of hiding places. It was no coincidence that just after this war the Venetian Senate finally permitted in 1356 Chania's requests to dredge the port. An unprotected shallow anchorage might have become a landing place for the enemy's shallow-drafted war vessels. The security motive in 1387 also worked: the mole was partially built in 1389. But when later experience showed that this partial mole was insufficient. Another Rector of Chania stressed in a letter to the Venetian Senate in august 1416 that the existence of a protected port in working condition was vital to increase the population and wealth of Chania. The letter also implied that denuding such a strategic area of loyal inhabitants might facilitate an invasion and endanger Venetian dominion in Crete. Indeed earlier that year such a danger seemed about to eventuate, by Ottoman ships, that fortunately were shipwrecked. The new Rector's argument worked and the Senate ordered the duke of Crete to meet the request of Chania regarding the local port.[46] In the case of Rethimnon the Rector's claim in 1414 that a silted and unprotected port harmed the local inhabitants. He warned that if the port was not maintain properly, the inhabitants might leave Rethimnon. This argument led the Senate to change

45. Gertwagen, "Venetian Modon", 128.
46. Gertwagen, "Concept", 204-209.

its attitude.[47] Security motives were those that urged finally in 1399 the Venetian Senate to authorise the construction of the port of Corfu – for the security of the Venetian merchant galleys and other commercial ships for which Corfu was an essential transit port. The port was also necessary for the protection of the town of Corfu due the danger from Ladislas', King of Napoli and the legal Lord of Corfu, fleet. Ladislas planned in 1399 to conquer Hungary and, Venice feared that on his way he might conquer Corfu. Therefore Venice also instructed to increase the garrisons in the castles on the Island. Albeit the resolution of 1399, the works for the construction of the port did not start. Only the fear of Ladislas' galleys continuing sojourn in 1400-1402 in the Ionian and around Corfu that threatened the island and the Venetian mercantile craft led the Senate in 1401 to bring up again the security motive for the construction of the port. One has to bear in mind that Ladislas was still the legal lord of the Island, whereas Venice won the control on the island illegally – without Ladislas' consent. Venice, therefore, in 1402 began practically the construction of the port. At the end of 1402 and at the beginning of 1403 Venice bought the island from Ladislas.[48]

Due to the above-detailed information, one could safely claim that Venice was reluctant to build ports in the colonies for maritime activities needs. Venice's attitude convey the impression that if there had been maritime commercial activity in the natural bays of the above-mentioned maritime colonies before Venetian occupation, there was no need to invest funds and manpower required for the building of artificial ports. The history of the ports after their construction supports further this attitude.

The artificial ports did not survive for a long time. The absence of knowledge of how to build walls underwater and the lack of marine engineering skills brought about the collapse of the moles and the silting of the water area inside the artificial ports. The Venetian documents convey the constant approach of the Venetian governments in the colonies for the repair of the ports. Considering the colonies as sources of revenues and profits rather than for investments of money and manpower, Venice was reluctant to maintain these ports. More often than not did the commercial vessels

47. *Ibid.*, 210-212.
48. ASV Seanto Misti-Secreta, reg. 44,f. 125v: 26.9.1399, f. 96v: 10.8.1401; reg. 45, f. 48v: 26.8.1400, f. 30v: 27.8.1400, f. 87v: 23.6.1401; reg. 46, f. 35v: 30.7.1402, f. 39v: 29.8.1402, f. 44v: 22.9.1402; Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 2, 50-51, no. 255, 88-89, no. 306; E. Bacchion, *Il dominio veneto su Corfù (1386-1797)*, Venezia 1956, 30-31, and see above, n.12

anchored in the open bays, where it was recommended by the fifteenth century portulans due to proper depth of water for the draft of the vessels. However then, the vessels were exposed to the stormy winds and to dangers of being attacked by hostile forces. The pilgrims' sailing on Venetian merchant craft descriptions convey the difficulties, while anchoring in the open bays during storms. Only in the case of Candia, the craft could find shelter in the natural bays around, as above mentioned. In other words, in the late 15th century, Corfu, Methoni, Corone Crete, and Negroponte were coastal towns with artificial ports that were not in working condition. Small boats of the locals or of the big commercial vessels took the cargoes and passengers to the town.[49]

Nevertheless, due to the intensive maritime military conflicts in which Venice was involved since the late 14th century till 1500, it established a policy in which various active roles were designated to its above mentioned colonies. They constituted centers of information for Venice regarding all sorts of events, which might have jeopardised Venice's international commerce. This information reached the colonies due to the intensive maritime activity they enjoyed. The colonies provided avenue of escape for the commercial fleet against any organised violence. The colonies supplied military escorts to the commercial ships. They also acted as centres of communication between Venice and its military and commercial navies, as well as provided vessels and manpower to the Venetian commercial and military navies. They were sources of provisions and services to the commercial and military ships, their crews and to the merchant, the travellers and the pilgrims.[50] Non Venetian vessels could also find in these ports previsions for the crews and passengers[51] or equipment required for the ships.[52]

49. Regarding the port of Crete, see Gerwagen, "Concept", 203-226; regarding the port of Methoni, see idem, "Venetian Modon", 132-138; regarding Corone, see Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 2, 12, no. 230, 232-233, no. 488; ASV Senato Misti-Secreta, reg. 51, f. 147v: 5.7.1416; *ibid.*, Senato Mar, reg. 7, f. 66r: 26.3.1462. The port of Corone is under process of publication like the port of Corfu by the present author.

50. The political construct at the late 14th century and during the 15th century, including the conflicts with which Venice was involved are discussed along the roles of the colonies by Gertwagen, "The Venetian colonies and their ports in the Ionian Sea and the Aegean in the Venetian Defensive Policy in the 15th Century", *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 12/2 (2002)351-384. See also idem, "Concept", 228-236; idem, "Venetian Modon", 129-132, 143-148.

51. Reports of passengers sailing on non-Venetian ships: "Itinerary of Father Simon Fitzsimons (1322-1323)", in Hoade (ed.), *Western Pilgrims*, 6-20, here p. 10; *Expeditions to Russia and the Holy Land made by Henry Earl of Derby (afterwards King Henry IV) in the Years 1390-1 and 1392-3, being the Account kept by his Treasurer during Two Years*, L. T. Smith (ed.), England 1894, 224-225, 230-231; Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures 1435-1439*, London 1995, 47, 50; *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte (1470-1471)*, F. M. Letts (ed.), Paris 1978, 374-375.

Regarding the above-mentioned information, could we claim that maritime activity did not necessitate artificial ports? On the face of it the answer is yes. Yet, it was a great disadvantage for both vessels and the coastal towns, nevertheless their fortifications. The Venetian settlers indeed discovered quickly that there was a substantial difference between visiting a place for short periods and living there permanently. They found it, in contrast to Venice, extremely essential to protect the colonies and their port towns against all sorts of danger from the sea side by construction of ports, their maintenance and by encircling the port towns with strong fortifications. In other words, the settles considered artificial ports as frontal fortifications. The case of Methoniis is instructive for the importance of frontal maritime defense.

The port built by the Venetians in Methoni did not function most of the time. The Venetians therefore decided to create frontal defense for the whole gulf of Methoni, by landscape architecture, that treated the gulf like an artificial port. This defense was made by the island of Sapienza at the south-west of Methoni, the Maritime Castle, at the southern end of the fortifications of the town and a massive marine installation – porporella between. This frontal defense proved itself during the Ottoman siege in 1500 on Methoni. The Ottomans in 1500 would not have broken in and conquered Methoni with their fleet, unless their troops from the mainland penetrated the terrestrial northern fortifications of the town. The defenders that hurried up to push back this attack, abandoned the frontal maritime defense, thus enabled the Ottoman fleet to break in and to attack and conquer Methoni from the sea side.[53]

The case of Karystos in south east of the Channel of Negroponte, on the other hand, is instructive for the effects of the absence of frontal defense.

52. M. Balard, "Escales génoises sur les routes de l'Orient mèditerranéen au XIVe siècle", *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin* 32/1 (1974) 244-252, here 262.

53. Gertwagen, "Venetian Modon", 138-143. For the Ottoman conquest of Methoni, see S. Pepper, "Fortress and Fleet: The Defense of Venice's Mainland Greek Colonies in the Late Fifteenth Century", in D. S. Chambers - C. H. Clough - M. E. Mallet (eds.), *War, Culture and Society in Renaissance Venice: Essays in Honour of John Hale*, London 1993, 29-56, here 53-54.

This default enabled in 1432 the Geneose fleet to conquer Karystos, albeit its fortifications, and to take the keys of the town.[54]

Undoubtedly once the port is built, even if the primary cause was security for the coastal town, it provided protection for the vessels and the maritime activity taking place inside against human and natural dangers.

54. The Genoese fleet under the command of Spinola arrived in 1432 to the Aegean to retaliate the Venetian attack on Chios the previous year: Ph. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island, 1346-1566*, 1, Cambridge 1958, 188.

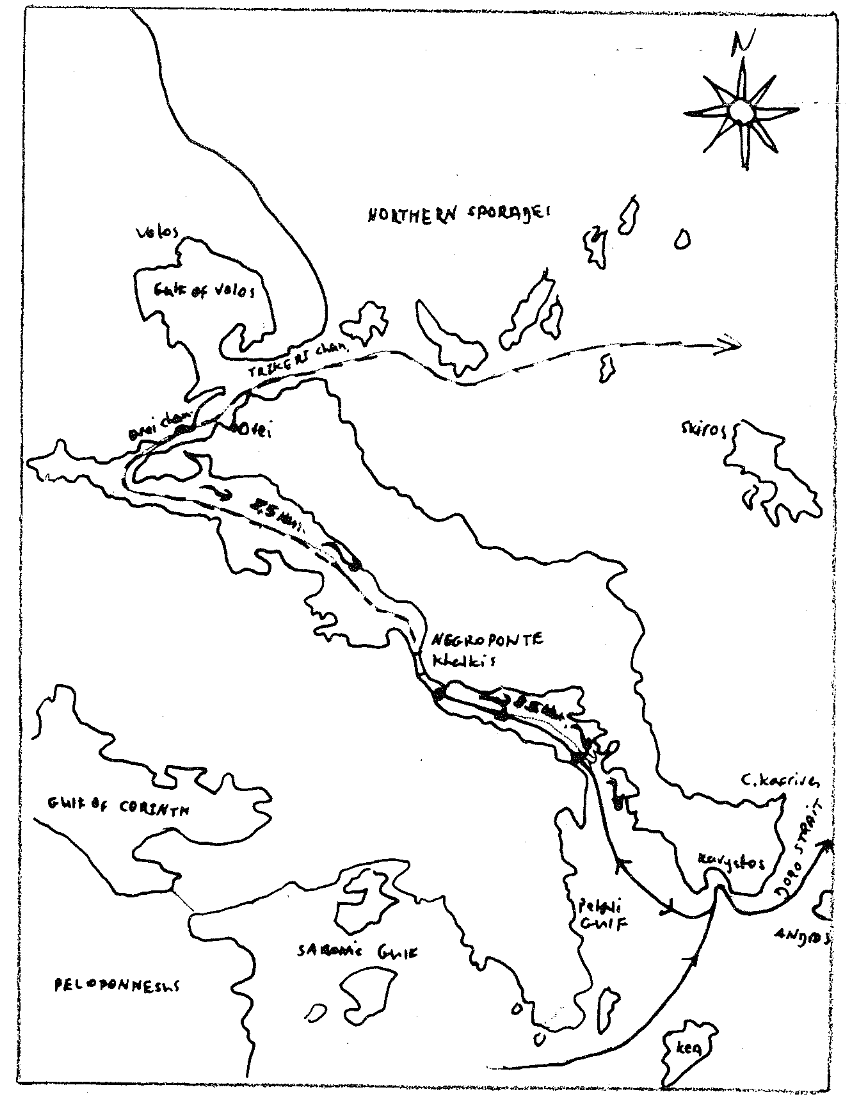


Fig. 1: Currents and sea lane in the strait of Negroponte
—➤ Sea lane of naves and non-Venetian naval freets
---➤ Sea lane of Venetian merchant Galleys.

Tomas Hägg

A BYZANTINE VISIT TO BERGEN: LASKARIS KANANOS AND HIS DESCRIPTION OF THE BALTIC AND NORTH SEA REGION

In a context where focus is on navigation and trade in the Mediterranean in the Byzantine and early modern eras, it may be of interest also to take account of a Byzantine citizen, perhaps a merchant, who sailed on more distant waters, namely, on the Baltic and the North Sea, presumably in the 1430s.[1] This is anyway the impression that one Laskaris Kananos wants to convey in a short text, only three MS. pages, that has survived in a 16th-century manuscript in Vienna (ÖNB, hist. gr. 113, folia 174r-175r).[2] It was first edited by Spyridon Lambros in 1881[3] and naturally aroused special interest in Scandinavia, as the first Greek account of this region apparently based on autopsy.[4] Already in 1902, one of the Swedish pioneers in

1. This paper is a revised and annotated version of my contribution to the 8th International Congress on Graeco-Oriental and African Studies (Chios - Oinousses, July 5-9, 2000), devoted to "Navigation and Trade in the Mediterranean from the 7th to the 19th centuries". I thank the participants in the discussion for valuable suggestions and references. The article is dedicated to Vassilios Christides, himself a frequent visitor to Bergen and a most welcome guest at its University Department of Greek, Latin and Egyptology.

2. The Österreichische Nationalbibliothek kindly supplied me with photos of the MS.

3. S. Lambros, "Κανανὸς Λάσκαρις καὶ Βασίλειος Βατάτζης, δύο Ἕλληνες περιηγηταὶ τοῦ ΙΕ' καὶ ΙΗ' αἰῶνος", *Parnassos* 5 (1881) 705-719.

4. See, e.g., H. Hjärne in *Ymer* 11, 1891, 67f., and F. Nansen, *In Northern Mists*, 2, London 1911, 281. Further bibliography in S. E. Bring, *Itineraria Svecana*, Stockholm 1954, 2f., and E. H. Schiötz, *Itineraria Norvegica*, Oslo 1970, 233f.

Byzantine studies, Vilhelm Lundström, published a new critical edition, with introduction, translation and commentary, all in Swedish.[5] More recently, the text was translated into German by Franz Grabler in the series "Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber",[6] into Swedish by Jerker Blomqvist[7] and into Norwegian by Tormod Eide.[8] But there seems to have been no English translation, and much of what has been published about the text is written in Scandinavian languages.

The present paper will therefore present a complete English translation, based on a new critical edition by Jerker Blomqvist,[9] and then discuss some of the problems connected with the text: the possible reasons for Kananos' northern travels, what route he took, where he got his information about the various places he mentions, and to what literary genre the short treatise belongs. Who the author himself was, is unknown. Some identify him with Ioannes Kananos, the author of a better known treatise, the eyewitness description of the Ottoman siege of Constantinople in 1422.[10] His full name, then, might have been Ioannes Laskaris Kananos. Besides the partial coincidence in name and date, Lundström found that the simple vernacular Greek used in both treatises makes it probable that they were written by the same man, while Blomqvist does not find the linguistic similarities between the texts decisive for an identification.[11] It would not have helped much anyway, since the other Kananos as well is known solely through his text.

We now pass to the travel description itself, which lacks a title in the

5. V. Lundström, *Laskaris Kananos' Reseanteckningar fran de nordiska länderna* (Smärre byzantinska skrifter 1), Uppsala - Leipzig 1902.

6. Vol. II: *Europa im XV. Jahrhundert von Byzantinern gesehen*, Graz 1954, 101-105.

7. In J. Blomqvist, "En bysantinare i Norden", *Hellenika* (Stockholm) 50 (1989) 3f.

8. Included in T. Hägg, "En bysantiner besoker Bergen", in Ø. Andersen - T. Hägg (eds.), *Hellas og Norge*, Bergen 1990, 221-228.

9. To be published in *Noctes Atticae: Articles on Greco-Roman Antiquity and its Nachleben, presented to Jorgen Mejer on his 60th birthday*, Copenhagen 2002. Jerker Blomqvist kindly sent me in manuscript his paper "The Cartography of the Baltic in Greek Eye - From Ptolemy to Laskaris Kananos", to which the new text is appended, and permitted me to use his text prior to publication.

10. Nos. 10892 and 10891, respectively, in E. Trapp, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 5, Vienna 1981, 83.

11. Lundström, *Reseanteckningar*, 38-41; cf. also Lambros, "Κανανὸς Λάσκαρις", 708; Blomqvist, "Cartography ", n. 1.

manuscript; for all we know, it may have been part of a larger work:

I have travelled over land through much of Europe and also traversed[12] all of its coast from the Northern Ocean. There, there is a very large gulf called in Greek the "Venedic" (*Οὐενεδικός*) [i.e., the Baltic Sea]. Its circumference is 4,000 miles, and its diameter from the northernmost point, which is called Cape Norway, to its innermost nook in the state (*ἐπαρχία*) of Pursia [Prussia] is 2,000 Italian miles [= ca. 3,000 km], with 1,000 fathoms a mile; but in our system, with 750 fathoms a mile, it is 2,250 miles. From east and west it encloses... [*lacuna*].

In the east [?], in its northernmost parts, there is first the state of Norvegia, which has a capital called Bergen Vagen (*Μπέργεν Βάγεν*). In this city no minted coinage circulates, either of gold or silver or copper or iron, but the buyers and sellers exchange[13] their goods. Further, in this city the day lasts one month: from June 24 to July 25 it is full day and no night whatsoever.

After this state is the state of Suêtzia [Sweden], which has the capital Stokolmô. In this city coinage of silver alloy is minted. Both these states are governed by the king [*ῥήξ*] of Datia [Dacia, Denmark].[14]

After Suêtzia is the state of Livania [Livonia, i.e. Estonia+Latvia]. This state has a capital which is called Riga and a country town[15] Rivule [Reval, i.e. Tallinn]. These are governed by the archbishop in both worldly and spiritual matters, but the state is governed by the Duke [*δούξ*] of the Grand Master [*μαΐστωρ*] of the white cloaks and the black cross.

After this state, in the innermost nook of the gulf, is the state of Pursia [Prussia]. It has a capital named Tantzêk [Danzig, i.e. Gdansk].

After this is the state of Sth<l>avunia [Slavonia], which has a capital named Lupêk [Lübeck]. The Zygiôtai on the Peloponnesus are from this state, for there are many places [*χωρία*] there where they speak the language of the Zygiôtai.

After this state is the state of Datia, which has a city called Kupanave [Copenhagen]. This is also the royal seat of the King of Datia.

12. *ἐμπεριπάτησα* Blomqvist: *ἐν περὶ πατήσας* MS., *ἐπεριπάτησα* Lambros, Lundström

13. *ἀλλάζουν* Blomqvist: *ἀλλὰ ζοῦν* MS., Lambros, Lundström.

14. During the period of the so-called Kalmar Union (1397-1523), the kingdoms of Denmark, Norway and Sweden were under a single sovereign.

15. *χώρα‹ν›* Lambros, Blomqvist: *ἑτέρα* Lundström.

These are the six states surrounding the gulf.

I also came to the Island of the Fish-Eaters (*'Ιχθυοφάγοι*), generally called Islantê; in the wise Ptolemy, in my opinion, this is Thule. There I found that the day consisted of six months, from the beginning of the spring to the autumnal equinox. For I crossed from Êngklênia [England?] to this island, a cruise of 1,000 miles, and I stayed (?)[16] there for 24 days. I saw strong and sturdy men, and their food was fish, their bread was fish, and their drink was water.

Then I turned back again to Enklêtera.

The distance from the city of Bergen Vagen high up to Kluza [Sluis] in Southern Filandria [Flanders] is 3,500 miles by a straight line, and from Kluza to the holy promontory [Cabo de São Vicente] in Porte Gale [Portugal] 2,164 miles, or altogether 5,664 miles if one does not sail into the gulfs.

Laskaris Kananos expresses himself in such a way that we may surmise that he travelled to the Baltic region by land from the east. Then he obviously returned home again by sea along the coast of Europe, from Bergen by Sluis in Flanders to Cabo de São Vicente in Portugal, and presumably back through the Straits of Gibraltar. Perhaps he also made a detour from Sluis to England and from there to Iceland. If he first arrived from the east, it is probable that he used the old Viking route to Miklagard by the rivers Dvina and Dniepr. The river Dvina flows through Latvia and debouches precisely into the Gulf of Riga; and Kananos' information about the cities and government of Livonia and about the uniform worn by the Order of the Teutonic Knights of Livonia, white with a black cross, smacks of personal observation.

It is the detail about Livonia (i.e. present-day Estonia and Latvia) being ruled by the Duke, or Governor, of the Grand Master (*Hochmeister*) that provides the clue for an exact dating of his travels. It is known from other sources that Livonia lacked a regional Master of the Order in the years 1438-39 and that the Grand Master was therefore represented by a governor.[17] This dating, in turn, has lead to the hypothesis that Kananos' travels should have been motivated by that important event in late

16. *ἐπλημέλησα* MS. Blomqvist, "Geography", marks the word with a crux, noting that "*ἐπλήρωσα* would give the required sense but would presuppose an improbable scribal error".

17. See N. Busch, "Wann war Laskaris Kananos in Livland?", *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Rußlands 1903*, Riga 1904, 230-233.

Byzantine history, the opening in the year 1438 of the Council of Ferrara in Northern Italy. It is known that a Russian delegation took the route from Moscow via Novgorod to Riga, then by ship to Gdansk and Lübeck, continuing southwards by land to Ferrara. In addition, surviving correspondence shows that other Greek representatives of the Orthodox Church were at the same time travelling in the same area, for purposes that are not quite clear.[18]

But to conclude from this that Kananos himself was a monk and belonged to these clerical travellers seems rather far-fetched. There is nothing in his report to indicate such interests, and the rest of his route does not leave the impression that he had Northern Italy as his ultimate goal. A merchant looking for new markets seems a more reasonable guess, considering all the information provided on money and products[19] - or perhaps simply a man of independent means fond of travelling and with political interests (compare the information on forms of government in the countries visited) - someone who eagerly seized an opportunity of widening his horizon. What the reports about the ecclesiastical travel activities in the same period tell us is that travelling on the Baltic Sea was no inconceivable or quite exceptional thing for a Byzantine citizen in the first part of the 15th century, while the North Sea was, presumably, more exotic. It just needs an official and widely publicized event, like the Ferrara meeting, to make the written sources flow freely, thereby necessarily also mentioning such common activities as travelling.

Some of Kananos' descriptions are of such a character that we may with some confidence conclude that he speaks from his own experience. This is true for Livonia, as mentioned above, possibly also for his information that Swedish silver coins were alloyed at the time of his visit, which also seems to fit a date around 1438-1439.[20] His most intriguing piece of (potentially) personal observation, however, concerns the territory around Lübeck that he calls "Sth<l>avunia", Slavonia.[21] In many places there, he notes, people speak the same language as you may hear on the Peloponnesus. He is

18. The material is presented most fully by P. Svendsen, "Fra Bysants til Bergen. En gresk reiseberetning fra det 15. arhundre", *Nordisk tidskrift för vetenskap, konst och industri* 37 (1961) 217-228.

19. Cf. the discussion in R. Hennig, *Terrae Incognitae*², Leiden 1956, 94-96.

20. According to Busch, "Laskaris Kananos", 233, Erik was accused of radically decreasing the silver content of the Swedish coins at the end of his rule. He was deposed in 1439.

21. Slavia, Sclavinia, Sclavonia are current medieval names for the south coast of

obviously referring to the part of Northern Germany where Slavic tribes had settled during the Great Migration, and he identifies their language with that of contemporary Slavic-speakers on the Peloponnesus.

The fact that both "Slavonia", that is, the region inhabited by the Polabs (around lower Elbe and lower Oder, and between), and the Peloponnesus had large Slavonic populations in the Middle Ages is hardly disputed any more (even if Fallmerayer's extreme hypothesis about the total Slavonization of Greece will find no serious adherents today).[22] It is the specific assertion about the survival of the spoken language in both districts at this late date that merits special attention.[23] Is it really possible that Kananos refers to contemporary conditions and was not simply taking over some antiquated information from a written source?

As for the land of the Polabs, the period when the Slavs dominated the region was of course hundreds of years past when Kananos made his journey.[24] The immigration of other peoples from the west and various political-economical pressures, especially in cities like Lübeck, led to the gradual assimilation of the Slavic tribes and the eventual extinction of the West Slavic dialects they had spoken, in favour of the victorious *Mittelniederdeutsch*. Generally speaking, most Slavs appear to have given up their language in the course of the 13th and 14th centuries. But there were obviously great differences between the districts as well as between town and countryside. For instance, the last woman speaking a Slavic dialect on the (at that time) out-of-the-way island of Rügen is reported to have died in 1404. On the other hand, further south there were places where the language lived on much longer, one of the dialects (*Drawehnopolabisch*) even into the first part of the 18th century.

the Baltic, so Lambros' conjecture *Ἐσθονία* is superfluous, cf. Lundström, *Reseanteckningar*, 28f. Incidentally, Sclavonia was also the Venetian name for parts of the Peloponnesus, see M. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland*, Berlin 1941 (repr. Leipizig 1970), 18.

22. See, e.g., H. Ditten, "Vorwort zur Neuausgabe", in Vasmer, *Slaven*, and the recent discussion by R. Lauer, "Gräkoslaven und Germanoslaven bei Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer", in R. Lauer - P. Schreiner (eds.), *Die Kultur Griechenlands in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Abh. Akad. Wiss. Gött., Philol.-hist. Kl., 3. Folge, 212), Göttingen 1996, 31-38.

23. Thanks are due to Vladimir Vavrinek for raising pertinent questions about this point during the discussion on Chios.

24. This paragraph is indebted to J. Herrmann (ed.), *Die Slawen in Deutschland*, Berlin 1974, 35-38, 382-384, and idem (ed.), *Welt der Slawen*, Munich 1986, 285-288.

Elsewhere, it is impossible to date the extinction, since the sources are few and unreliable and mostly concern the cities where the development was rapid. It is significant, and greatly strengthens his credibility, that Kananos does not locate his Slavic-speakers in Lübeck itself, but expressly at other places in the surrounding "state of Slavonia". There seems to be no cogent reason to dismiss his observation as anachronistic; rather, it merits a place among the sparse evidence about the language situation in this region in the 1430s. It is of less importance whether it was Kananos himself who actually heard and recognized the Slavic tongue, it may as well have been other Greeks that he met in Lübeck[25] who told him about their astonishing linguistic experience.

Anyhow, they must have been Greeks, since Kananos specifies the Slavic dialect that he or his informants heard as "the language of the Zygiôtai". This appears to refer to the dialect spoken by the Slavs settled in the district on the Peloponnesus sometimes called Ζυγός [τῶν Μελιγγῶν] in the sources, situated on the west side of the Taygetos.[26] Numerous place-names testify to the fact that this district had a large Slavic-speaking population at least from the last quarter of the 7th century.[27] There are also some written sources confirming that Slavic dialects continued to be spoken here, though none as late as Kananos. In 1415, Isidore, the future metropolitan of Kiev, who was probably born at Monemvasia in the Peloponnesus and is said to have spent part of his youth as a monk there, testifies, if not specifically to the survival of the Slavic language, at least to the Slavic past of the Zygos region, referring specifically to the city of Oitylon: "the city is ancient and Hellenic ... but its inhabitants were not Hellenes but barbarians (*ὁ δῆμος οὐχ Ἑλλήνων ἀλλὰ βαρβάρων ἦν*)".[28] Can it be just a coincidence that 23 years later, in May 1438, the same Isidore was one of the Greeks who manifestly visited Lübeck on his way to

25. For instance, letters from the city of Lübeck to which Busch, "Laskaris Kananos", 232, refers testify to the presence of a number of Greek clericals in the city in 1438.

26. This paragraph is indebted to Ph. Malingoudis, *Studien zu den slavischen Ortsnamen Griechenlands*, 1. *Slavische Flurnamen aus der messenischen Mani*, Wiesbaden 1981, 15-21. Cf. also Vasmer, *Slaven*, 18f.

27. Cf. J. Karayannopoulos, "Zur Frage der Slavenansiedlungen auf dem Peloponnes", *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 9 (1971) 443-460.

28. Quoted after Malingoudis, *Studien*, 21, n. 17, from W. Regel, *Analecta Byzantino-Russica*, St. Petersburg 1891, 65.

the Council of Ferrara-Florence as head of the Russian delegation?[29] However that may be, one can hardly escape the conclusion that the linguistic observation conveyed to us by Kananos is authentic, with relation to both regions (though it seems excluded that it could have been the same Slavic dialect),[30] and that it may even fit the date 1438-1439 for his journey surprisingly well.

Concerning Sweden and Denmark, there are not enough details in Kananos' description to guarantee that he actually visited those places, except possibly for the observation about the Swedish coins of silver alloy. It is worth observing that he only knows the Italian forms of the names for Sweden and Stockholm. One of the names he uses for England, Enklêtera, is a corruption of the Italian name, Inghilterra, and he calls Island Islantê. A possible explanation would be that he travelled on an Italian ship, though that may be less likely in view of the Hanseatic monopoly in these waters; alternatively, one might suggest that he edited his description with an Italian map before his eyes (cf. below). But to conclude from these forms and some other coincidences between Kananos' account and information given on contemporary maps, as Georgios Makris recently did,[31] that he got all his knowledge from maps and "Usancebücher" and never made the trip at all, is definitely to go too far. The coincidences Makris points out are mostly gathered in the Iceland tale (cf. below) and consist of medieval lore that is too common to prove anything about dependence; the names that Kananos and the maps share, besides the Italian ones, are those of the geographical tradition of Ptolemy, such as *Οὐενεδικὸς κόλπος* for the Baltic Sea. His specific information about the political situation in Livonia, the linguistic situation in Slavonia and the economic situation in Sweden, all apparently fitting the same date, can hardly have been found on maps; and, as we shall see presently, his assertion about trade in Bergen is in no way the proof that he never had been there that Makris makes of it.

Bergen was obviously the northernmost point Kananos visited on the Norwegian west coast. He refers to "Cape Norway" only to specify a

29. References to the sources for his journey in Busch, "Laskaris Kananos", 232. Cf. also P. Karge, "Die Reise der russischen Konzilsgesandten durch die Ordenslande. 1438, Januar – Mai", *Altsprachliche Monatsschrift* 32(1985) 488-504.

30. See Vasmer, *Slaven*, 19.

31. G. Makris, "Geographische Kenntnisse bei den Griechen am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit", in Lauer - Schreiner (eds.), *Die Kultur Griechenlands* , 89-105.

distance, there is no indication that he had actually seen it, whatever cape is intended (both Stadt and the North Cape have been suggested).[32] In Bergen, his ship obviously anchored in Vagen, the innermost part of the fjord,[33] because he mistakenly adds this designation to the name Bergen: Bergen-Vagen (cf. Fig. 1). Two local phenomena have particularly attracted Kananos' attention, the barter trade and the white northern nights. In both cases, he exaggerates. Of course, coins were used in Bergen, a Hansa city, in the 15th century. But obviously the exchange of stockfish, dried fish, cod-liver oil and skins from the north for corn, textiles and luxury goods from the south was still such a predominant part of the commerce that our hasty visitor from Byzantium thought money was not known at all. And he is not alone in focussing on the barter. An almost contemporary poetic report by another foreign visitor to Bergen, the German Michel Beheim, which describes a vivid cosmopolitan milieu, with many languages spoken and ships coming in from every quarter (cf. Fig. 2), likewise enlarges upon the exchange of indigenous goods such as stockfish against various costly things from foreign countries.[34] Other sources from the same decades tell us that the Hanseatic authorities reacted against "the harmful novelty of conducting commerce in Bergen with ready money", a practice obviously introduced by competing Dutch tradesmen who bypassed the established modes of exchange and thereby threatened Hanseatic interests.[35] Barter was no doubt still the dominant spectacle on the quays and bridges of Bergen.

The midnight sun was already a topos in ancient descriptions of Thule and its surroundings, and our traveller naturally thought this was what he experienced in Bergen. Now Bergen is, of course, situated far south of the

32. Cf. Lundström, *Reseanteckningar*, 22; Hägg 1990 (above, n. 8), 222 n. 2. In addition, Blomqvist, "Cartography", mentions among other possibilies the southern point of Norway. In Quirini's report (below, n. 40), "Capo di Norvega" may refer to Lofotodden (thus Wold, *Paradisets* [below, n. 40], 174).

33. The explanation of the name given in Grabler's translation (above, n. 6), 103, is false.

34. See O. C. L. Vangensten, *Michel Beheims reise til Danmark og Norge i 1450* (Videnskabs-Selskabets Skrifter II: Hist.-Filos. Kl., 2), Christiania 1908, 19, lines 25-50, and cf. K. Helle, *Bergen bys historie*, 1, Bergen 1982, 693. Cf. also what Pietro Querini in 1432 heard about Bergen, that people fro the north exchange their fish there for clothes and other goods from Europe: "They do not have or use any kind of coins, so when they have exchanged their goods, they go back" (Wold 1991 [below. n. 40], 141).

35. Quotation from Svendsen, "Fra Bysants", 219; cf. Helle, *Bergen* , 795, 801.

Arctic Circle and thus technically never offers any midnight sun. Still, its position on the west coast with the sea reflecting the hidden sun makes the short midsummer nights bright enough - the contrast to a summer night in Constantinople must have been breathtaking. The peculiar assertion that the lightest period lasts a month, starting from midsummer, must be due to some misunderstanding. Perhaps it was around midsummer he visited Bergen, and on his question how long these white nights lasted, he got the answer "a month", and interpreted this as meaning "one month, starting now", instead of "another month".[36]

What he tells us about the midnight sun on Iceland is still more fantastic, with a day of six months followed by another six months of night. This smacks of the fabulating fiction of antiquity. In Antonius Diogenes' novel about *The Incredible Things beyond Thule* (*Τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα*), which Kananos may have read in Photios' *Bibliotheke* (cod. 166), we hear about arctic areas where the winter may last a month, six months, or even a whole year, followed by another year of summer (*Bibl.* 111a1-4)! His description of Icelanders as tall fish-eaters is a stereotype of medieval literature.[37] It seems likely that he never visited Iceland himself, but just wanted to impress his home audience with having reached even as far as the famous Thule of Ptolemy. It is significant that the account of Iceland-Thule is the only one in the whole treatise dominated by the insistent first-person perspective typical of liar tales: I came, I found, I saw - I am an eye-witness, my account is true.

The rest of the treatise is of a very different character. Beginning and end leave the impression of a travel report (*Reisebericht*), and that is the generic label it usually gets (whether one believes it to be authentic or not). Now, what commentators say about Kananos' route cannot be quite correct. He is said to have arrived from the east to embark on his sea voyage, and to have visited the various ports in the order they are mentioned in the text: Bergen, Stockholm, Livonia, Gdansk, Lübeck, Copenhagen, Sluis (north of Brugge), England, Iceland, England again, Sluis again, Capo de Sao Vicente. But that he should have arrived *by land* from the east all the way to Bergen does not sound convincing, to say the least, especially in view of the mountain barrier that separates eastern and western Norway. All communication between the Baltic area and the west coast of Norway will

36. For this explanation, see Lundström, *Reseanteckningar*, 26.

37. Lundström, *Reseanteckningar*, 31f., gives examples from English medieval literature.

have been by sea (as it still was even between Kristiania-Oslo and Bergen until the building of the cross-country railway!). No doubt, our Byzantine traveller arrived at Riga by land and rivers, and from there continued by sea, calling at some or all of the Baltic cities he mentions, before passing through the Sound (Öresund), crossing the Kattegat and the Skagerrak, and heading north for Bergen, perhaps as passenger on a Hansa ship. The order in the main part of the text, then, is likely to be the product of his editorial work at home, with a map before his eyes. Furthermore, the specified distances and the name forms (as noted above) bear the stamp of written sources rather than personal inquiry or experience.

How the map or maps he used may have looked in detail is a complicated issue, too technical and far-reaching to be discussed here.[38] The important point in the present context is that what Kananos meant to produce was less a travel report than a geographical description of the Baltic and North Sea region. He structured it logically, according to the map(s) at his disposal, and inserted into this framework some of his personal experiences of these northern places. He is eager to mark his own participation - cf. the initial ἐγὼ - but the style is, with the exception of the Iceland tale, that of a factual description, perhaps meant as a practical compendium for the use of future Byzantine visitors to these northern regions.

What this little treatise is, and what it is not, will perhaps appear more clearly if we finally put it beside another, roughly contemporary report from the west coast of Norway, that of the Venetian nobleman and merchant Pietro Quirini.[39] In April 1431, Quirini set out from Crete, his ship loaded with wine, spices and cypress wood and bound for Brugge in Flanders. Violent storms interrupted the trip, the ship was adrift for weeks on the Atlantic before the two lifeboats were set out. Finally, on 5 January 1432, one of these, with Quirini on board together with ten other survivors (of a crew of 68), landed on the small island of Rost in Lofoten. All the horrors that these ship-wrecked men suffered at sea are described in two surviving reports, one of them written by Quirini himself;[40] but of equal interest is the

38. On this issue, see the informed and illustrated discussion in Blomqvist, "Cartography".

39. These two, Quirini and Kananos, are in fact exceptional in recording Mediterranean interest in and knowledge about the Northern countries before ca. 1450, cf. L. De Anna, "Il viaggio boreale", in S. Pittaluga (ed.), *Columbeis*, 5, Genova 1993, 121-163.

40. "Viaggio e naufragio di Piero Quirino, gentiluomo viniziano", printed in G. B. Ramusio, *Navigazioni e viaggi*, 2, Venice 1559 (repr. Amsterdam 1967), 51-77,

contrasting description of the months they spent "in paradise", with the small local community on Rost, before they started their long journey back to Venice, the first laborious stretch covered by land via Trondheim to Sweden. Instead of godless barbarians or fierce pirates, they met on Rost a Christian community of poor and hard-working fishermen who received them in the dark winter night with both compassion and generosity and whose simple customs the young Venetian aristocrat observed with wondering eyes.

While Kananos' short account informs us of distances, states and capitals as if from a bird's-eye perspective, and of rulers, coins and merchandise as in a compendious guide book, Quirini's report is one of personal experience and close observation. Kananos, in fact, tells us nothing we did not already know about the Baltic and North Sea states in the late middle ages, except that a Byzantine traveller happened to visit the region in the 1430s and became interested enough to commit some basic facts about it to writing. In contrast, Quirini's detailed ethnographic observations, made and written down only a few years earlier, are still an invalubale source for our knowledge of the life and habits of a small fishing community far off the Norwegian west coast, some 900 km north of Bergen.

To a large extent, we may surely ascribe this contrast to differences of personality and situation, perhaps also to fundamental differences in mentality and cultural outlook between late Palaeologan Byzantium and early Renaissance Italy.[41] Herbert Hunger, who calls Kananos' work "nicht mehr as ein anspruchsloses Kuriosum", finds that the Byzantines on the whole lacked initiatives of their own not only in theoretical geography but also "in der praktischen Länderkunde": in spite of the temporary flourishing of their navy and merchant fleet, there seems to have been no voyages of discovery or exploration of any note.[42] Is this a well-founded conclusion, or

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followed by the account written by two of his fellow travellers, 79-98. Norwegian trans. of both texts by Marie Aalen in H. A. Wold, *I paradisets forste krets*, Oslo 1991, 123-175. For a detailed analysis of the description, see L. De Anna, "Il viaggio settentrionale di Pietro Querini nella redazione Ramusiana", *Miscellanea di storia delle esplorazioni*, 15, Genova 1990, 57-102. Benjamin Arbel kindly called my attention to the relevance of these texts for the present topic.

41. De Anna, "Viaggio boreale", 144, speaks of Quirini's "desiderio di capire, di osservare, di 'ricordare'" and of avoiding clichés in describing a foreign culture, placing him in the context of Italian Humanism.

42. H. Hunger, *Die hoschsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 1, Munich 1978, 518f. Cf. further Makris, "Kenntnisse".

just one drawn from the lack of a literary genre, the Byzantine *Reisebericht*? However that may be, Laskaris Kananos obviously lacked literary models when he wanted to communicate what he had learnt about the Nordic countries from his travels in the region and, presumably, from his later studies of maps.[43] Thus his false initial signal and his apparent vascillation between genres within the short compass of his treatise. He deserves credit for the exactness of his description and should not be censored for his failure to produce the captivating travel report he never intended. He was certainly far from the first Greek to travel in this region, but the first (as far as we know) who cared to communicate his knowledge to others in writing.

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43 P. Schreiner, "Viaggiatori a Bisanzio: il diplomatico, il monaco, il mercante", in Pittaluga (ed.), *Columbeis*, 29-39, mentions parts of Cosmas Indicopleustes' *Christian Topography* and what he calls "[il] fittizio viaggio" of Kananos as the only exceptions to the rule that Byzantine merchants left behind no real *Reiseberichte*.

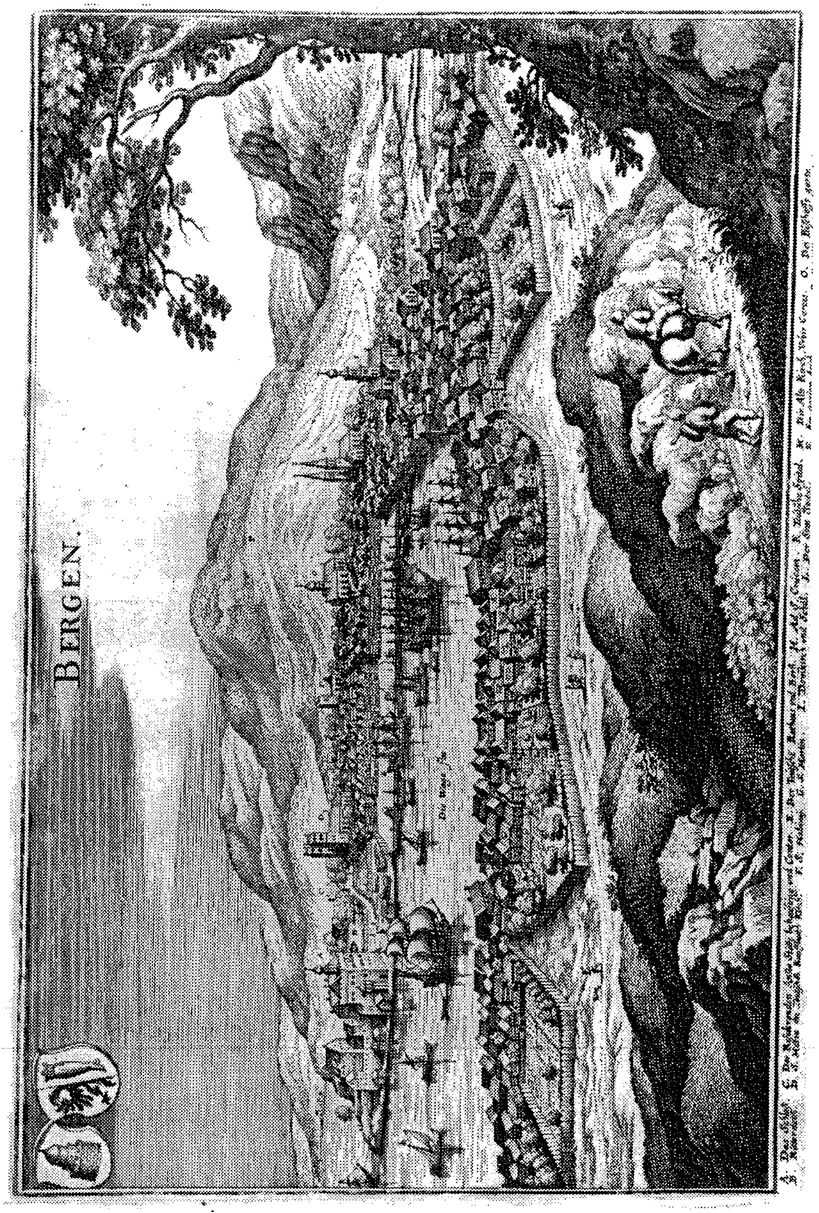


Fig. 1. Merchant vessels on Vagen in Bergen. Detail from a copperlate engraving by Hieronymus Scholeus (ca. 1570)

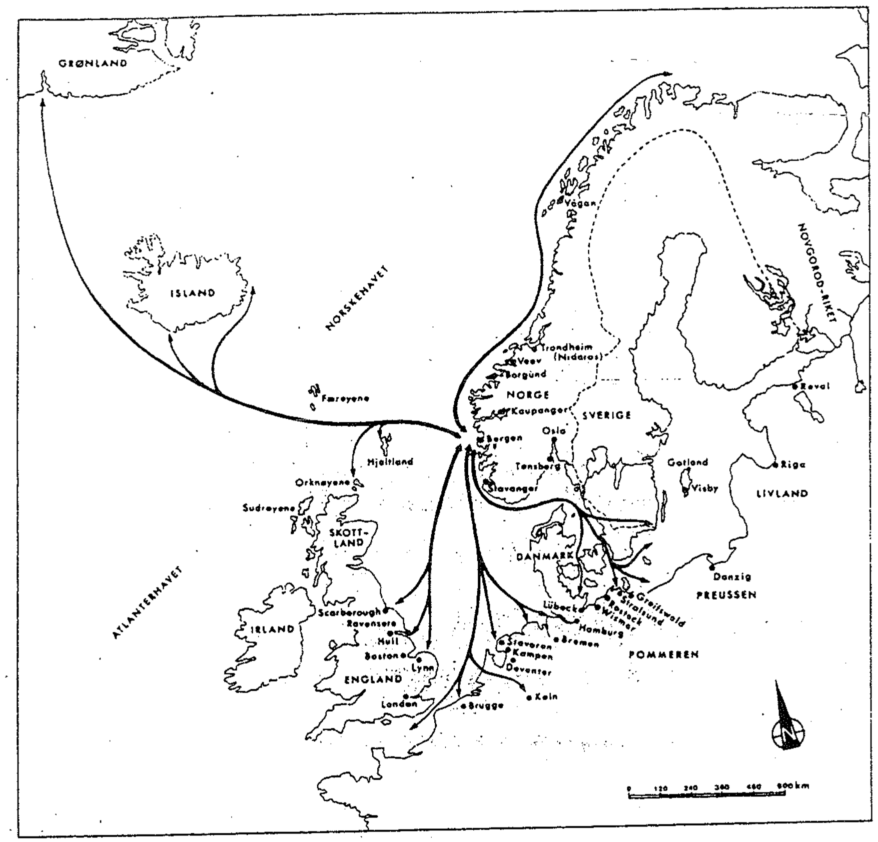


Fig. 2. Trade routes to and from Bergen in the early 14th centure. Map from K. Helle, *Bergen bys historie*, Vol. I (Bergen 1982), 329

Benjamin Hendrickx

THE *PACTUM PACIS ET CONCORDIAE* BETWEEN THEODOROS I LASKARIS AND GIACOMO TIEPOLO (1219).

The *Partitio Romaniae*[1] (October 1204) defined the geographical details of the principles, laid down by the Crusaders and Venetians before the capture of Constantinople (March 1204).[2] Thus, the Venetians received one quarter and a half of the Byzantine territory, but in fact concentrated their attention on the ports. While doge Dandolo himself had not become a vassal of the Latin emperor, his governors in Constantinople, the *podestates*, were not exempted from this obligation, although - in return - the Latin emperors were obliged to respect all Venetian privileges received before 1204 from the Byzantine rulers.

This somewhat complicated *condominium* created difficult problems of sovereignty, suzerainty and vassalage, and strongly influenced the policies of the Mediterranean nations, involved in war and trade, for at least the next half century.

The Latin Empire's prosperity was short-lived and, after the death of

1. G. L. F. Tafel - G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur alteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, 1, Vienna 1856, 452-485, no. cxxi; A. Carile, "Partitio terrarum Imperii Romaniae", *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965) 217-222; B. Hendrickx, "Régestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople. (1204-1261/1272)", *Βυζαντινά* 14 (1988) 23, no. 16.

2. Tafel - Thomas, *Urkunden*, 449-452, no. cxx; W. Prevenier, *De Oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1011-1206)*, 2, Bruxelles 1964, 553-559, no. 267; Hendrickx, "Régestes", 11-12, no. 1.

emperor, Henry of Flanders in 1216, the Empire entered a phase of disaster and uncertainty. The old Fleming, Conon de Béthune, was bail in 1216 and 1219. Between these dates, Peter of Courtenay had perished in the mountains of Albania and his wife, Yolande, had died in Constantinople in 1219. Her younger son, Robert of Courtenay, a boy with a weak character, no political experience or insight and few moral principles, was sent to Constantinople, where he was crowned emperor.[3]

The Nicaeans, under emperor Theodoros I Laskaris, had already strengthened their territorial position during the last years of Henry of Flanders's reign, when - *ca.* December 1214 - the treaty of Nymphea defined the borders between the Latin Empire and the Nicaean territory.[4] Laskaris, however, who had married in 1218 Marie of Courtenay, daughter of Peter and Yolande, refrained from a military response to the Latin weakness and, instead, opted for a diplomatic offensive.

Within this context, in August 1219, Theodoros Laskaris made an agreement - in the form of a *chrysoboullos logos* - with Giacomo Tiepolo, the Venetian *podestà* in Constantinople.[5] The agreement gave to the Venetians free access to the Nicaean territory, as well as the right to do business without paying tax or a permit fee, while the Nicaean traders had business rights in Contantinople and Venetian Romania, subject to paying toll. The agreement also provided - for both parties - security for ships in danger and for their cargo, should the latter need to be evacuated from the ships. It further stipulated, for the benefit of both parties, that when a person died - with or without a will - his belongings should be duly returned to his relatives. Damage occurred since the beginning of the application of the agreement must be rewarded. No party should copy the other's coin types. During a period of 5 years, no Nicaean warships or pirate ships should pass by Constantinople without permission from the *podestà*, neither may the Nicaean Empire export gold coins from Venetian Romania without the *podestà*'s permission.

Although the agreement of 1219 has been commented upon since

3. See J. Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople*, Paris 1949, 153-159.

4. Acropolites, chap. 15, ed. A. Heisenberg - P. Wirth, *Georgii Acropolitae opera*, Stuttgart 1978; Baudouin d'Avesnes, ed. J. A. C. Buchon, *Recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée*, 1, Paris 1845, 505; Hendrickx, "Régestes", 90-91, no. 129.

5. Tafel - Thomas, *Urkunden zur alteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, 2, Vienna 1857, 205-207, no. cclii; F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, 3, München 1932, 7, no. 1703.

Du Cange's time, it has never been perceived in a holistic framework. Thus, many questions have not always received adequate answers. Why, for instance, an agreement with the *podestà* and not with the doge or the Latin emperor? Why the discrepancy between the privileges given to the Venetians and the rights accorded to the Nicaeans? Which is the real commercial value of the *pactum*? And why this remarkable reference to the copying of coins?

Du Cange, the oldest of the modern commentators on the *pactum* of 1219, has brought forward a perspective which has been neglected by more recent scholars.[6] Connecting this *pactum*, along with a two-year treaty between Tiepolo and the sultan of Konya,[7] with Peter of Courtenay's capture and death in Albania/Epeiros, he saw these treaties as the result of pope Honorius' pressure upon Venice to keep open the route to Palestine and the Latins in the Levant.

On the other hand, Miliarakis[8] placed the initiative in the hands of Theodoros Laskaris, assuming that the latter wished to strengthen his claims to the Byzantine throne through diplomatic successes, while recognizing that the real power in Constantinople was held by the Venetians and not by the declining Frankish Empire.

Likewise, Alice Gardner[9] considered the *pactum* as strengthening the position of Laskaris, who was recognized by the Venetians as emperor, while he himself did not hesitate to recognize the doge of Venice as "despotes" and "dominator" of one quarter and a half of Romania. Thus - in her opinion - the agreement was a phase in Theodoros's eagerness to retain the friendship of the Latin rulers of Constantinople, pointing out also his proposal to marry his daughter, Eudocia, to young Robert of Courtenay.

A similar opinion is maintained by J. Longnon,[10] who remarked, however, that this "traité de commerce [était] fort avantageux" for the Venetians. Finally, Ostrogorsky,[11] while repeating some of Gardener's arguments, correctly underlined the advantage of Laskaris's under-

6. Du Cange, *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople*, Paris 1826 (repr. New York 1971), 161-162.

7. Tafel - Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2, 221-225, no. cclviii.

8. A. Miliarakis, *Ἱστορία τοῦ βασιλείου τῆς Νικαίας καί τοῦ δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἠπείρου*, Athens 1898, 132.

9. Alice Gardner, *The Lascarids of Nicaea*, London 1912, 95.

10. Longnon, *L'empire*, 157.

11. G. Ostrogorsky, *Histoire de l'état byzantin*, Paris 1969, 430-431.

standing with the Latins as leading to the isolation of his rival, Alexios of Trebizond, and to the reduction of the latter's state to a minor principality, with no substantial role to play in Byzantine history proper.

But, is the *pactum* of 1219 indeed the result of Lascaris's policy only? Or is it rather the result of a much more complex and elaborated situation, in which Venice played the major role?

This line of thinking was established - rather in a simplistic way - by Depping,[12] who viewed the treaty of 1219 as a humiliation of Laskaris, imposed upon him by the Venetians and as sanctioning the dethronement of the Greek dynasty in Constantinople.

More recently, Kenneth M. Setton[13] placed the initiative in Tiepolo's hands. He referred to the 14th-century chronicler and doge, Andrea Dandolo,[14] who observed that Tiepolo did so "since the power of the French was already failing", meaning that the Latin Empire was starting its decline. The Venetian *podestà*, recognizing the symptoms - according to Setton - consequently embarked on a Venetian policy, not necessary identical to that of the Latin emperors.

Norwich[15] and Thiriet[16] have put forward similar arguments, but have stressed the independence of Tiepolo in including the treaties with Laskaris and the Seljuq sultan of Konya. Thiriet, however, has remarked that in December 1219, Tiepolo in a letter to doge Ziani, completely changed his tone, openly exchanging his high profile as independent *podestà* for this of a simple governor, delegated by the Venetian *Communis* to defend its interests in Romania. The years 1218-1220 marked, according to Thiriet,[17] a positive development in Venice's colonial expansion: in 1218, relations with Genua were normalised and relations with Pisa became even cordial. In this context, Tiepolo's treaties

12. G. B. Depping, *Histoire de commerce entre le Levant et l'Europe*, 2, 1830 (repr. New York 1970), 86-89.

13. K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, 1, Philadelphia 1976, 44, n. 1.

14. Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica*, ed. E. Pastorello, *Andreae Danduli ducis Venetiarum chronica per extensum descripta*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*², Bologna 1938-1958, 12/1, 288.

15. J. J. Norwich, *A History of Venice*, Harmondsworth 1983, 148, 150-153, 156-157, 160, 165.

16. F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne*, Paris 1959, 90-91.

17. Thiriet, *Romanie*, 88-89.

with Nicaea and the Turks as well as Venice's agreements with Egypt, show - says Thiriet - that Venice established a realistic policy, a "véritable politique de "contre-assurance" qui favorise les intérêts commerciaux." Venice's opportunism thus did not even stop short of sacrificing the Latin Empire, although the *Communis* had wished - at least originally - to protect this Empire.

Norwich[18] has asked the questions whether the results of the 4th crusade, being a commercial success in Venetian eyes, could have "gone to the heads of the Venetians in the Levant ", and whether they were planning a break-away from the mother-city. Norwich refers to the concern of the central government in Venice, when the Venetians in Constantinople elected one of themselves, Marino Zeno, to the office of *podestà*, and when the latter adopted doge Dandolo's own title of "dominator" of a quarter and a half of the Roman Empire, even wearing the red stockings and scarlet buskins - reserved in principle to the Latin emperor Baldwin and doge Dandolo only. Zeno was rebuked and had to content himself - and so also the other successive *podestà*, now directly appointed by Venice - with the title of *vice-dominator*. This development in fact rejects Thiriet's assumption that it was only in 1219, when Tiepolo was *podestà*, that the *podestà*'s powers were cut.

Morever, while Norwich doubted that Venetian tradition according to which doge Ziani contemplated the transfer of the seat of power from Venice to Constantinople, Thiriet[19] - contradicting his own assessment of Tiepolo - believed that the initiative of transfer of power came from Tiepolo, when in 1224, he became for the second time *podestà*. Whatever may be the value of these assumptions, it remains a fact that this policy line - if it ever existed - was finally abandoned when Tiepolo was elected doge of Venice in 1229. Indeed, Giacomo Tiepolo, who had made his career mainly in the Latin East, as duke of Crete (1208-1215) and then *podestà* in Constantinople (1219-1221 and 1224-1227), had had first-hand experience of problems created by the rebellious Greeks, and - as a doge - expended Venice's new dominions without stretching its powers more than the mother city's ability and capacity.

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18. See note 15.

19. Thiriet, *Romanie*, 93.

In order to fully answer to the questions, asked at the beginning of this paper, I believe that one should briefly examine another treaty of roughly the same period, namely the treaty of Tiepolo with Aladdin Keikobad ('Alā' al-Dīn Kay-kubādh I), the sultan of Konya, in March 1220,[20] especially because the *Chronicle* of Andrea Dandolo mentions both treaties together as forming a unit. This agreement with the Seldjuks was also in line with an agreement, earlier (*ca.* 1211) between Kay-kaus, Aladdin's brother and predecessor, with Laskaris, which initiated a peace which was to last for half a century between Byzantines and Seldjuks.[21]

Cahen believes that the Seldjuks maintained cordial relations with the Venetians and Latins of Constantinople, while preferring to maintain a Greek bufferstate, Nicaea, between Latin and Turkish territory. Indeed, both Tiepolo's treaties, which are *chrysoboulloi logoi*, contain similar clauses: thus, the Turks are obliged to return the cargo of Venetian ships, that might sink in Turkish waters. The same is true for Turkish ships in the Venetian waters of Romania. The belongings of deads should be returned without litigation. Venetian ships, when attacked by enemies, should be rescued by the Sultan's soldiers. During the peace (of 2 years), the Turks should be secure and safe at sea and on land, and should have the right to freely trade in the territory of Venetian Romania, paying the due tax (*datio*) On the other hand, the Turks had the right to charge two percent of the value of Venetian cargo, as a result of an earlier treaty between Venice and the Sultan's father. But the Venetians were not obliged to pay any *commercium* on pearls, precious stones, silver, gold (be it manufactured or in a rough form) and grain.

The treaty between Tiepolo and Laskaris is totally silent on the goods, which are traded, and one gets the impression that the treaty is especially meant to protect the safety of Venetian ships and traders in transit, traders, who came from and sailed to the Muslim Levant, and were transporting such goods as listed in the treaty with Aladin.

Thus, the Venetians succeeded in maintaining or opening markets as well as sea routes for their merchants and cargoes in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Finally, the agreement that neither power was to copy the coin types of the other is of particular interest, since it underlines that they were

20. Tafel - Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2, 221-225, no. cclviii.

21. C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, 120-121.

doing so! It is already attested by Niketas Choniates that in 1204 the Latins in Constantinople cut some small κέρματα, which probably - as pointed out by Hendy[22] - were faithful copies of the Byzantine coins, but contained less silver. They have been called "iperperi latini". It has also been accepted that the Greek states after 1204 did not cut coins until after the end of the Latin Empire (1261). Recent archeological finds in Corinth brought to light a number of coins of the period of the *Frankokratia*, amongst which Byzantine coins, Latin and Bulgarian copies of these coins as well as *torneseli*, *soldia* and *grossia* from Venice.[23] On the other hand, the Italian republics tried to replace the devaluated Byzantine mint with their own coins.

The agreement of 1219 seems somehow conflicting with our general knowledge of the monetary economy of the early *Latinokratia*. Why - in 1219 - should the Laskarids already want to copy Venetian mint? And why would the Venetians copy Byzantine coins and not try to impose their own mint? Accepting the easy way out, i.e. considering the coin clause in the agreement as purely decorative and non essential, does not fit in - of course - in the Venetian business realism, which is reflected in its dealing with other powers. Probably, in this phase of the Latin domination, Venetians and Franks in Constantinople were both involved in copying coins, but the Nicaean monetary policy needs to be reexamined, if we accept the statement in Tiepolo's treaty with Laskaris.

22. M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy*, Cambridge 1985, 520-521.

23. See P. Lock, *Οι Φράγκοι στο Αιγαίο, 1204-1500*, Athens 1998, 422ff.

Κατερίνα Καραπλή

ΣΚΕΨΕΙΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΗ ΘΕΣΗ ΤΟΥ *ΞΥΛΟΚΑΣΤΡΟΥ*

Η άποψη που έχει διατυπωθή και, κατά τους υποστηρικτές της, ακολουθούσε κατά γράμμα το κείμενο του Λέοντος ΣΤ (886-912), ότι δηλ. το *ξυλόκαστρο* τῶν βυζαντινῶν πολεμικῶν πλοίων κρεμόταν από το κατάρτι, έχει ήδη αντικρουσθῆ.[1]

Σκοπός του παρόντος σημειώματος, είναι να επιστήσει την προσοχή στο λεξιλόγιο των «στρατιωτικών τακτικών» και να καταδείξει ότι ακριβώς η προσεκτική ανάγνωση των κειμένων φανερώνει ότι το *ξυλόκαστρο* πατούσε στο κατάστρωμα.

Ο ίδιος ο Λέων ΣΤ χρησιμοποιεί το ρ. *«ἐπιστήσουσι»*, και όχι άλλο (όπως π.χ. *«ἀναρτήσουσι»*)˙ *"ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ξυλόκαστρα περὶ τὸ μέσον τοῦ καταρτίου ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις δρόμωσιν ἐπιστήσουσι περιτετειχισμένα σανίσιν....»*. Το ίδιο ρ. συναντούμε και στο έργο του Βασιλείου Λακαπηνού (3.2)[2]. Σημειώνω ότι *«ἐφίστημι»* σημαίνει και «τοποθετῶ πλησίον.»[3].

Σαφέστερο όμως είναι το στηριζόμενο στον Λέοντα ΣΤ «*Τακτικόν*» του Νικηφόρου Ουρανού (ΙΑ' αι.), όπου, στο αντίστοιχο χωρίο, διαβάζουμε ότι τα *ξυλόκαστρα* πρέπει *«ἵνα στήκωσι... πρός τό μέσον τοῦ καταρτίου, πρός τό στήκειν ἄνδρας εἰς αὐτά...»*[4].

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1. Christides, V., "Ibn al-Manqali (Mangli) and Leo VI: New Evidence on Arabo-Byzantine Ship Construction and Naval Warfare" *Byzantinoslavica* 56 (1995), 83-96. Pryor, J.H., "From Dromon to Galea: Mediterranean Bireme Galleys A.D. 500-1300" in *The Age of the Galley (Conway's History of the Ship)*, London 1995, σ.104.

2. Λέοντος *Ναυμαχικά*, 7 στ' - A. Dain, *Naumachica*, Paris 1943, σ. 20 και 66.

3. Liddell-Scott - Κωνσταντινίδου, *Μέγα Λεξικόν της Ελληνικής Γλώσσης*, Αθήνα 1934, λ. «ἐφίστημι» (IV), όπου και παράδειγμα.

4. *Τακτικόν* Νικηφόρου Ουρανού, ΝΔ' 6, (Dain, *Naumachica*, σ. 72). «*Στήκω*»

Ορισμένοι από τους υποστηρικτές του "αιωρούμενου ξυλοκάστρου" διατείνονται ότι η φράση του Λέοντος ΣΤ' *"περὶ τὸ μέσον τοῦ καταρτίου"* είναι λανθασμένη και ότι το σωστό πρέπει να ήταν *"περὶ τὸ μέσον κατάρτιον"* ή *"περὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν καταρτίων"*. Οι ισχυρισμοί αυτοί δεν ευσταθούν· δεν είναι δυνατόν ούτε ο ίδιος ο αυτοκράτορας να έκανε ένα τέτοιο λάθος ούτε, αν δεχθούμε ότι οφείλεται σε κάποιον αντιγραφέα χειρογράφου, να το υιοθέτησε ένας στρατηγός του μεγέθους του Νικηφόρου Ουρανού, παρά τη στενή εξάρτηση από το πρότυπό του. Και οι δύο "τακτικοί" συγγραφείς, λόγω των αξιωμάτων τους, ήταν σε θέση να γνωρίζουν καλά πόσα κατάρτια είχαν τα πολεμικά πλοία της εποχής τους. Το ίδιο ισχύει και για τα *Ναυμαχικά* του Βασιλείου Λακαπηνού, όπου αναφέρεται σαφώς ένα κατάρτι στο μέσον του πλοίου· πολλές φορές μάλιστα ο άνεμος το *ἐξεπτέρνιζε*, το αποσπούσε δηλ. από τη βάση του (*πτέρνα*)[5].

Στον *δρόμωνα* των χρόνων αυτών υπήρχε κατάρτι ένα και μεγάλο και ίσως και ένα μικρότερο, βοηθητικό (*ἀρτέμων*)[6].

Όσο για το *"μέσον τοῦ καταρτίου"*, σκέπτομαι ότι η φράση αναφέρεται μάλλον στο ύψος του *ξυλοκάστρου*. Πιστεύω ότι ο Λέων ΣΤ' εννοεί να στήσουν αυτή την υπερυψωμένη σανιδοκατασκευή γύρω από το κατάρτι, στη βάση του, και να τη στερεώσουν στο μέσον του. Το *ξυλόκαστρο* ήταν περίκλειστο και περιέβαλλε, κατ'εμέ, το κατάρτι. Έτσι το προστάτευε από τους σφοδρούς ανέμους, ενώ συγχρόνως προφυλασσόταν το ίδιο από τυχόν *έκπτερνισμό* και πτώση του ιστού.

Για τη στερέωση του ξυλόκαστρου χρησιμοποιούνταν ειδικές μεγάλες *περόνες*. Όπως παραδίδει ο Κωνσταντίνος Πορφυρογέννητος, κατά την εκστρατεία του 949 για την ανάκτηση της Κρήτης, ανάμεσα στα άλλα εφόδια που δόθηκαν *κατά περίσσειαν* στον δρουγγάριο των πλωΐμων υπήρχαν και *περόνια σιδηρᾶ μεγάλα του ξυλοκάστρου ιβ'*. Η διατύπωση *περόνια τοῦ ξυλοκάστρου* δείχνει ότι τα περόνια αυτά ήταν ειδικά γι' αυτή τη χρήση[7]. Πιθανόν να συνέ-

= το σημερινό «*στέκω*» και «*στέκομαι*» = πατώ γερά στο έδαφος, όχι στον αέρα.

5. Dain, A., *Naumachica*, Paris 1943, σ. 65, 2.9.

6. *Βυζαντινά και Αραβικά ιστιοφόρα πλοία (7ος-13ος αι.)*, Αθήνα-Οινούσσες 2001, σελ. 26 και 34 (Χ. Σπανούδης - Κ. Καραπλή).

7. Κωνσταντίνου Πορφυρογέννητου, *Βασίλειος Τάξις* ΙΙ. 45 (έκδ. Βόννης 1829, σ. 677· έκδ. J. Haldon, *Travaux et Mémoires* 13 (2000) σ. 233). Η μετάφραση του Haldon «bolts for the wooden castle», ίσως δεν αποδίδει ακριβώς το νόημα· στον στόλο δεν υπήρχε μόνο ένα *ξυλόκαστρο*.

δεαν το *ξυλόκαστρο* με το κατάρτι, δεν το κρεμούσαν όμως.

Ο Λέων ΣΤ, στην αρχή του έργου του, ισχυρίζεται ότι δεν βρήκε στα παλαιότερα τακτικά (πιθανότατα εννοεί αυτό του Μαυρικίου) τίποτε περί ναυμαχίας και ότι γράφει από ό,τι διάβασε *"σποράδην"* και από ό,τι στοιχεία του έδωσαν οι *"πλώϊμοι στρατηγοί"* του. Ως προς την παρ. 7 στ' των *Ναυμαχικῶν* του, τη σχετική με το *ξυλόκαστρο*, πιστεύω ότι πρέπει να είχε γνώση είτε άμεση είτε έμμεση της παρ. IV, xliv του έργου του Βεγέτιου (Δ' αι. μ. Χ.), που αναφέρεται βέβαια στη λιβούρνα.

Ο Βεγέτιος (Vegetius) δηλώνει ότι από την υπερυψωμένη ξύλινη αυτή κατασκευή οι πολεμιστές μάχονταν όπως από ένα τείχος και εκσφενδόνιζαν β α ρ ύ τ α τ α αντικείμενα (saxa· πρβλ. Λέων ΣΤ' και Νικηφ. Ουρανός: «*λίθους μυλικούς*») στο εχθρικό πλοίο· *"in maioribus etiam liburnis propugnacula turresque constituunt, ut tamquam de muro ita de excelsioribus tabulatis facilius vulnerent vel perimant inimicos"*[8]. Ο Vegetius χρησιμοποιεί το ρ. constituo (=στήνω, εγκαθιστώ, τοποθετώ), δεν αναφέρεται δε καθόλου σε κατάρτι. Η κοινή λογική, πάντως, δεν επιτρέπει να σκεφθούμε ότι τόσο βάρος κρέμονταν από ένα κατάρτι, όσο γερό και αν ήταν αυτό.

Εκτός από τη θέση του *ξυλόκαστρου*, οι προαναφερθείσες παράγραφοι των δύο τακτικών παρουσιάζουν και άλλα κοινά στοιχεία.

Παρά την έλλειψη επαρκών στοιχείων, είναι προφανές ότι η ξύλινη πυργοειδής κατασκευή, που βλέπουμε σε παραστάσεις πλοίων των ρωμαϊκών και υστερορρωμαϊκών χρόνων, είναι ο πρόγονος του βυζαντινού ξυλόκαστρου. Ο πύργος αυτός στηρίζεται πάντοτε στο σκάφος, δεν αιωρείται. Οι πληροφορίες των γραπτών πηγών είναι σχεδόν ανύπαρκτες. Ο Ιούλιος Πολυδεύκης (Β' αι. μ.Χ.) στο *Ὀνομαστικόν* του, αναφέρει *"πυργία δύο, δεξιόν καί εὐώνυμον"*, τα οποία πατούν σε βάσεις (*πυργούχους*) επί του καταστρώματος[9]. Για πύργο πλοίου ίσως γράφει και ο Πισίδης (Ζ' αι.)· όπως συνάγεται από το κείμενο, και ο πύργος αυτός ήταν συνδεδεμένος με το σκάφος[10].

8. Flavi Vegeti Renati, *Epitoma Rei Militaris*, Rec. C. Lang Stutgardiae 1967, σ. 162-163 (IV, xliv)

9. Pollucis *Onomasticon*, ed. Er. Bethe, (Teubner), Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1998, σ. 30.

10. Ag. Pertusi (ed.), Giorgio di Pisidia, *Poemi*, Ettal 1959, σ. 197, 224 (Bell. Avar. 470-472). Το κείμενο οπωσδήποτε είναι δυσνόητο. Αναφέρετα στην τύχη κάποιου Σλάβου κατά την πολιορκία του 626. Οι Σλάβοι είχαν επιτεθή στην Κωνσταντινούπολη με μονόξυλα. Διέθεταν άραγε και κάποια μεγαλύτερα σκάφη, ή

καί τις παρ'αὐτοίς ἀντὶ πύργου τὴν τρόπιν
λαθὼν ὑπῆλθε καὶ πολὺν μείνας χρόνον
ἐκ τῆς ἀνάγκης δυστυχῶν ἐκαρτέρει·

Για την καταβίβαση του ιστού την ώρα της μάχης θα υπήρχε ασφαλώς πρόβλεψη, ενδεχομένως κάποιος διάδρομος (μήπως σχέση με τα "πυργία δύο" που αναφέρει ο Πολυδεύκης;)

ο Πισίδης "προίκισε" τα μονόξυλα και με στοιχεία των βυζαντινών πολεμικών πλοίων, όπως υποστηρίζει ο Pertusi. Για το ότι υπήρχαν και «εξελιγμένου» τύπου μονόξυλα, ήδη κατά τον Ζ' αι., βλ. P.-M. Strässle, «Το Μονόξυλον im Konst, Porphyrogenetos' "De administrando imperio"», *Etudes Balkaniques 26* (1990) 95-96, 100-102. Δεν αποκλείεται όμως ο Πισίδης να εννοεί απλώς ένα αναποδογυρισμένο μονόξυλο.

Nike-Catherine Koutrakou

THE IMAGE OF EGYPT IN THE BYZANTINE THOUGHT-WORLD: REMINISCENCE AND REALITY(7th-12th Centuries)

Dealing with the perception of reality as witnessed by literary works is always ambivalent. In fact, it is a well-known literary principle that states that any literary work evolves out of a literary tradition, develops within a specific time period and remains subject to influences inherent to the life of that time. So, any study of Egypt's image in the Byzantine world during the middle centuries (from the 7th to the 12th), based on its appearance in the literary works of that time, has to take into account both the literary tradition and the realities of the time. However, if we turn to the study of some of the most widespread Byzantine literary products of that period, the emerging image of Egypt might prove rather one-sided.

First, simple passing references to Egypt, its inhabitants and its main cities, not exceedingly common in the first place, become less and less so during the so-called "dark centuries" (7th-9th centuries). The words "Egypt"- "Egyptians" as well as related place-names such as "Alexandria" and its inhabitants, "Thebes", and "Thebaïd", "Memphis", "Sinai" etc., are rarer in the literary sources of the period than in those of the previous centuries. In the chronicle of *Theophanes*,[1] dating from the

1. J. Classen, ed., *Theophanis, Chronographia, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae(CSHB),* Bonn 1839, henceforth *Theophanes.* See also, C. de Boor, ed., *Theophanis, Chronographia I-II,*Leipzig 1883-1885. On the chronicle as a source for Byzantine history see G. Ostrogorsky, *Histoire de l'état Byzantin* (traduction française de G. Guillard, Paris 1956, reimpr. 1977, p. 117ff; Aik,

beginning of the 9th century and considered the main historical source[2] for events of the 8th (and the beginning of the 9th) century, there are 47 occurrences of the word "Egypt", 7 of the word "Egyptians", 4 of the word "Thebaïd", 1 of the word "Thebes" and 6 of the word "Sinaï". Similarly, the word "Alexandria" occurs 266 times and the word "Alexandrines" 16 times[3]. However, most of these references occur when the writer refers either to Egypt as part of the Empire or to its

Christophilopoulou, *Βυζαντινή Ιστορία,* A', Thessalonique 1992², p. 245-6; Eadem, *Βυζαντινή Ιστορία* B1, Thessalonique 1993², p. 7 and most recently, L. Brubaker and J. Haldon *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (680-850). The sources. An annotated Survey,* Birmingham Byz. And Ott. Monographs 7, Aldershot, Ashgate 2001, pp. 168-171, as well as A. Karpozelos, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί και χρονογράφοι,* Athens 2002, pp. 117-88.

2. The issue of the authorship and dating of the *Theophanes* chronicle is of interest here to the extend that the monk Theophanes, to whom tradition ascribes the authorship, might have access to, at the beginning of the 9th century or later (see P. Speck, "Der "zweite" Theophanes. Eine These zur Chronographie des Theophanes" in *Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά* 13, *Varia* 5, Bonn 1994, pp. 431-483, according to whom the author of the chronicle was another Theophanes living by the middle-9th century), or might have used as editor of the chronicle (the real author being George Syncellus according to C. Mango, "Who wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?", *Zbornik Radova Visantiolosk Instituta* 18, 1978, pp. 9-17), materials pertaining to events in Egypt that were not common knowledge in the Byzantine Empire. We know, for instance, that this chronicle makes extensive use of materials brought from Palestine by George Syncellus (see, on this issue, L. Brubaker and J. Haldon *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (680-850). The sources. An annotated Survey, op. cit.,* p. 168). At any rate, Theophanes's image of Egypt, even if it did not coincide with its most widespread perception to begin with, became so due to the chronicle's widespread influence on later works. On this subject see, recently, A. Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature 650-850* (in collaboration with Lee F. Sherry and Christine Angelidi), *Institute for Byzantine Research*, Athens 1999, -henceforth A. Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature-*, p. 205-234.

3. Cf. B. Coulie - P. Yannopoulos and CETEDOC, *Thesaurus Theophanis Confessoris, Chronographia, Thesaurus Patrum Graecorum,* Brepols, Turnhout, 1998, s.v. "Αἰγύπτιος-οἱ", "Αἴγυπτος", "'Αλεξάνδρεια", "'Αλεξανδρεῖς", "'Αλεξανδρινή", "Θῆβαι", "Θηβαΐς", "Σιναῖος". As far as the image of Alexandria is concerned, this paper proposes in fact to fill a chronological gap, the 7th-11th centuries (from the Byzantine point of view) which are not covered in the recently published book by A. Hirst - M. Silk, eds., *Alexandria, Real and Imagined,* Publications for the Centre of Hellenic Studies, King's College, London, Ashgate 2004.

conquest by the Arabs[4], and makes use of materials pertaining to these events. In the same train of thought it is interesting to note that another contemporary source, the late 8th-century "Brief History" by patriarch Nicephorus[5], that covers the years 602 to 769AD, describes the crews of the Arab fleet during the siege of Constantinople in 717/8 AD as "Egyptians". According to the patriarch, while the Arab fleet was anchored in Bithynia, opposite the coast of Constantinople, one night the crews took the boats and, under cover of darkness deserted to the Byzantine side[6]. It is probably an indication of Christian crews employed in the Arab fleets but the fact remains that these crews were seen as "Egyptians" by the Byzantine chronicler. This kind of reference to "Egyptians" when dealing with crews of Arab naval expeditions into territories of the Empire, was not rare in Byzantine sources. At the beginning of the 10th century, for instance, Patriarch Nicholas I, in his *Oration on the Fall of Thessalonica* (904AD), described it as an "invasion ...of Assyrians and Egyptians"[7].

On the other hand, the city of Alexandria is mostly mentioned with reference to the patriarchate, and to the holders of the patriarchal seat of Alexandria. It is also interesting to note that "Egypt" is primarily treated as a geographical unit, one sufficient unto itself, but with links to other geographical areas. It denotes the country that surrounds the city of Alexandria, the seat of political and ecclesiastical power of the time, with its bishop-patriarch holding almost absolute power over the other Egyptian bishops[8], and the key country to the Arab expansion. The

4. It is interesting to note that the chronicle of Theophanes uses the words "Egypt's destruction" (*Theophanes*, p. 510: "Αἰγύπτου ὄλεθρος") when referring to the Arab conquest of the region.

5. C. de Boor ed., *Nicephori Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opuscula Historica,* Leipzig 1880. C. Mango ed., *Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople, Short History*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Texts X, 1990. See L. Brubaker and J. Haldon *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (680-850). The sources. An annotated Survey,* pp. 171-172.

6. C. de Boor ed., *Nicephori Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opuscula Historica*, p. 54: "οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰσπλέοντες Αἰγύπτιοι νυκτὸς τοὺς ἐνεστηκότας λέμβους τῶν νηῶν εἰσβάντες πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἧκον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα εὐφήμουν".

7. L. G. Westerink, ed., *Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, Miscellaneous Writings*, Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 1981, p. 10/32-37.

8. Bishop Makarios Tlillyrides, *The Patriarchate of the Great City of Alexan-*

chronicle of Theophanes, describing the Arab expansion to Spain at the aftermath of the overthrow of the Ummayads, speaks of Egypt as the door to Africa and even, through the "*Ceuta* straits", to Europe[9].

In another well-known literary source of the time, the monumental *Bibliotheca* compilation by patriarch Photius, Egypt holds an entirely different place. Due to the nature of the *Bibliotheca* comprising reviews, epitomes, and abstracts of works -279 titles- by ancient and medieval authors[10], references to Egypt depend heavily upon the compiled works themselves. They also rely on the choice of texts that Photius read and wished to share with others, the readers of the *Bibliotheca* and, in particular, with his brother Tarasius, the addressee of the whole work[11]. Photius used various materials: historical -including church his-

dria, Athens 1998, p. 18, following Harnack's views that the patriarch of Alexandria enjoyed unlimited powers comparable to those of Caesar in politics, an echo of the ancient "chief priest of Alexandria and all Egypt". See A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in der ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, Leipzig 1924, t. II, p. 705ff.

9 *Theophanes,* p. 656: "...ἐλθόντες ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου εἰς 'Αφρικήν, κἀκεῖθεν ἀντιπεράσαντες τὸ διορίζον μεταξὺ Λιβύης καὶ Εὐρώπης τῆς κατὰ τὸν 'Ωκεανόν στενῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ λεγόμενον Σεπταί...". See Aik. Christophilopoulou, *Βυζαντινή Ιστορία, op. cit.,* B1, p. 54; G. Ostrogorsky, *Histoire de l'état Byzantin, op. cit.,* p. 170. On the Arab expansion see, among others, F. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, Princeton 1981 and W. E Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, Cambridge 1992. On the expansion leading towards the West of North Africa in particular, see, recently, V. Christides, *Byzantine Libya and the March of the Arabs towards the West of North Africa*, -henceforth V. Christides, *North Africa-*, Bar International Series 851, Oxford 2000, with relevant bibliography.

10. W. Treadgold, "The nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius", *Dumbarton Oaks Studies 18,* Washington 1980, esp. pp. 37-48; A. Markopoulos, "Νέα στοιχεία για τη χρονολόγηση της «Βιβλιοθήκης» του Φωτίου" *Σύμμεικτα* 7, 1987, pp. 165-181;

11. On the subject of the letter that Photius addressed to his brother Tarasius and the subsequent dating of the *Bibliotheca* either among the early (before or about 838, according to Hélène Ahrweiler, "Sur la carrière de Photius avant son patriarcat" *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (*BZ*) 58, 1965, 348-355) or among the latest of Photius's works (around 876, according to Fr. Halkin, "La date de composition de la "Bibliothèque" de Photius remise en question", *Analecta Bollandiana* 81, 1963, pp. 414-417) or even among the works of his middle years (either 845 or the more traditional date of 855/56, according to W. Treadgold, *op. cit.,* pp. 16-36), see A. Markopoulos, *op. cit.*, (infra n. 10*)* p. 166 ff.

tories- works, texts of rhetoric and apologetics, fiction, mythology, exegetical works, biographies etc., summarizing them after reading and deciding on the selection of each item[12]. Obviously when Photius discusses works by authors living in Alexandria itself, such as the works of Eulogius[13], patriarch of Alexandria (581-607AD)[14], or when he mentions various Alexandrine patriarchs while discussing other subjects[15], references to that city as the patriarch's seat are hardly surprising. This applies, for instance, to the *Life* of St Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria[16], by which we are fully apprised on Christian life and church politics in 4[th] century Alexandria. Needless to point out that, in this context, ancient authors, especially authors of the Hellenistic era and Late Antiquity, make frequent references to Egypt, Alexandria, and their inhabitants[17], often providing us with details on sites and life there, while in

12. T. Hägg, "Photius at work: Evidence from the Text of the *Bibliotheca*", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 14, 1973, pp. 213-22. Idem, *Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur: Untersuchungen zur Technik des Referierens und Exzerpierens in der Bibliotheke, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Greaca Upsaliensia* 8, Uppsala 1975, pp. 131-137.

13. Photius, *Bibliotheca,* ed. R. Henry, *Photius, Bibliothèque*, Paris 1959ff., -henceforth Photius *Bibliotheca-*, codex 230, t. V, p. 8 ff. Concerning the influence of Eulogius's writings on Photius himself, see A. Markopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 176-178, and his analysis of the use that Photius made of Eulogius's works in his correspondence with Ašot, of Armenia. See, especially, a letter to Ašot dating from the beginning of Photius's second patriarchate (877-886), probably from 878/9: A. Markopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

14. On Eulogius's tenure and his initiative to promote an official translation of theological texts in the language of his congregation, probably part of an attempt to bring the Alexandrine seat nearer to the Coptic population, see M. Leontsini, "Θρησκευτικές πεποιθήσεις και γλωσσική διατύπωση τον 7ο αιώνα", *The Dark Centuries of Byzantium (7[th]-9[th]), Institute for Byzantine Research, National Research Foundation,* Athens 2001, pp. 73-87, esp. p. 87.

15. See, for instance Photius's reference to the initial opposition by patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria to John Chrysostom's election to the patriarchal seat of Constantinople, according to the latter's *Life* by George of Alexandria: Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codex 96, t. II p. 53.

16. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codex 258, t. VIII, p. 18ff, 23ff, 33, 37, 39. On Photius as a reader of hagiography and on his criteria for selection of hagiographical works in his compilation, see T. Hägg, "Photius as a Reader of Hagiography: Selection and Criticism", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (*DOP*) 53, 1999, 43-58.

17. See, for instance, the work *on Apollonius* by Philostratus (Photius, *Biblio-*

later works this image gradually fades. So, when we count references to "Egypt"- "Egyptians", "Alexandria"-"Alexandrines" etc., in the historical works processed and compiled by Photius, and compare them to the overall occurrences, we have an indication both as to which features were valued at the time, and as to their frequency in the *Bibliotheca*. In this context, the word "Egypt" occurs 17 times[18] in the historical works compiled by Photius, while in the overall work we encounter it 81 times[19]. Also, in the historical works, the word "Alexandria occurs 6 times, "Thebes" 3 and "Thebaïd" twice, while mentions of "Memphis", "Serapeion" and other place names connected with Egypt are even rarer.[20] In the overall context, " Alexandria" is referred to 66 times, while "Thebaïd" and "Thebes" 11 times[21]. This ratio is in itself indicative of the links that Egypt's image had with historical facts and reality. It testifies to a perception based more on marvelous elements and the strange trivia that Photius loved than actual facts. Information about the Alexandrine church was probably the closest link with reality in Egypt's image that Photius could lay claim upon.

Of course, the figures quoted above are rather reduced. They do not

theca, codex 44, t. I, p. 28-30 and codex 241, t. V, pp. 170ff); Philostratus, an author of the 2nd-3rd century AD, refers to Apollonius's visit to Egypt, where the Egyptians paid attention to his teachings: Photius, *Bibliotheca*, t. V, p. 197/22. See, also, Photius, *Bibliotheca* codex 44, t. I, p. 29, quoting Philostratus on the legend of Apollonius's speach to the Egyptian king Amasis. On Philostratus and his works see A. Lesky, History of Ancient Greek Literature, Greek translation by A. Tsopanakis, Athens 1964, p. 1132-1134. On Apollonius of Tyana as the archetype figure of a magician-mystic and miracle-worker, which was used by the pagan philosophers in order to counter the Christian message capitalizing on Christ's miracles, as well as on the impact of his teachings on the philosophical life of the 3rd-4th centuries, see, among others, Maria Dzielska, *Apollonius z Tianu*, (1984), Greek translation by G. Kousounelos, *Ο Απολλώνιος ο Τυανεύς στον Μύθο και στην Ιστορία*, Athens 2000, pp. 87-153.

18. St. Eftymiadis, *Φώτιος, Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Βιβλιοθήκη. 'Οσα της Ιστορίας*, *Ανθολογία*, Athens 2000, s. v. Αίγυπτος, pp. 507.

19. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, t. IX, (Index by J. Schamp), Paris 1991, s. v. Egypte, Égyptiens (the later occurs 47 times), pp. 308-309.

20. St. Eftymiadis, *Φώτιος, Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Βιβλιοθήκη. 'Οσα της Ιστορίας*, *op. cit.*, pp. 507-509.

21. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, t. IX, (Index), Paris 1991, s. v. "Alexandrie", "Thèbes, "Thébaïde", pp. 281-282, 362.

take into account references to well-known personalities connected with Egypt, such as, for instance, king Ptolemy, or queen Cleopatra or the so-called "historical" (for the ancient authors) trivia. For example, Ptolemy Hephaistion mentions such an occurrence: he quotes the -apocryphal- legend of a woman named Fantasia and originating from Memphis, who was, supposedly, the author of a pre-Homeric version of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*[22]. Neither do our figures include less known persons connected with Egypt and mentioned by Photius in a different context[23], or persons described as "of Egyptian origin" such as the 7th-century historian Theophylact Simmocata[24], or George of Alexandria, the 7th-century writer of a *Life* of St. John Chrysostom[25]. Nevertheless, the *Bibliotheca* references suffice to give us at least some idea of the texts that educated Byzantines read at the 9th-10th centuries, i.e. the texts that helped shape their perception of Egypt.

In this context, there is another factor to take into account: Photius's references are indicative ones. The numbers we quoted might well become misleading and are to be viewed with caution. The fact that a particular abstract of the *Bibliotheca* bears no relation to Egypt or Alexandria does not necessarily mean that the work Photius refers to, presented no such connection. In fact, among the literate public of the time circulated many books that Photius, because of their very availability, did not find useful to summarize. An example can illustrate this point: We know, by his relevant notice, that Photius had read the work of the 4th-century writer Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*. However, in the *Biblio-*

22. See, for instance, Photius's review and résumé of Ptolemy Hephaistion's *New History*: Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codex 190, t. III, p. 51ff, esp. p. 66.

23. For instance, Photius, in his short notice on Socrates Scolasticus, (*Bibliotheca*, codex 28, t. I, p. 16-17) refers to his having studied in Constantinople as pupil to two Alexandrine scholars, Ammonius and Helladius : Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codex 28, t. I, p. 16.

24. See Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codex 65, t. I., p. 79, referring to the *Histories* written by "Theophylact the Egyptian". On Theophylact Simmocata and his work see H. Hunger, *Die hochsprächliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, t. I-II, Munich 1978, Greek translation by T. Kolias and K. Synelli, in, H. Hunger, *Η λόγια κοσμική γραμματεία των Βυζαντινών*, Athens 1992, -henceforth Hunger, *hochsprächliche Literatur*- t. II, pp. 107-116;

25. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codex 96, t. II, p. 48ff. On this author see H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich 1959, p. 460.

theca, this work rates only a very short notice, saying that Eusebius's text deals, in ten volumes, with ecclesiastical history, from the Church's very beginnings to the reign of Constantine the Great and the changes that it brought to the Christian Church[26]. There is no reference either to Egypt or to Alexandria in this notice. But, in his surviving work, Eusebius[27] deals extensively with the patriarchal seat of Alexandria, its beginnings and especially its place and influence in the Church politics of his time. This is, for example, Eusebius's description of the Church of Egypt during the time of Septimius Severus (193-211AD): "as Severus unleashed a persecution against the churches, glorious was the witness borne to devotion by the athletes of the spirit (*Â˘Û€,ÂÈ·*) in every place, and this was abundant in Alexandria, the athletes of God being sent there as a huge stadium from Egypt and the whole Thebaïd, through their most patient endurance of a variety of tortures and manners of death put on crowns given by God...Severus entered the tenth year of his reign and Laetus was in command in Alexandria and the rest of Egypt; Demetrius, after Julian, took up afresh the bishopric of the Christian communities..."[28].

Photius did not have to burden his readers with an extensive account of what was available and could be found elsewhere. However, the very absence of such accounts is, -as far as Egypt's image is concerned-, an indication that it was the perception of Egypt according to these easily available sources that was the one most widely circulated. This is the case in Photius's text, with reference to Church History[29] as shown by the above quotation. So, we can safely assume that, in the most widely read Byzantine historical texts, -including both ecclesiastical and universal history if we count the chronicles- the prevailing image of Egypt was, in fact, connected with the Alexandrine Church and the city of Alexandria.

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26. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codex 27, t. I, p. 16.

27. G. Bardy, (+1955) (text and translation), *Eusèbe, Histoire Ecclésiastique I-III*, (*IV*, index by P. Périchon) Paris, (*sources chrétiennes*) 1952-53, 1960, 1987[3]: VI, II, 2-3.On Eusebius and the impact of his work on later historians see H. Hunger, *hochsprächliche Literatur*, t. II, pp. 21-22, 25, 36-37.

28. English translation by bishop Makarios Tillyrides in *The Patriarchate of the Great City of Alexandria*, Athens 1998, p. 16.

29. See, for instance Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codex 28 on Socrates's *Ecclesiastical History*, or *Ibidem*, codex 29, on Evagrius's *Ecclesiastical History*.

In parallel with a quite widespread tradition of Church History, works of hagiography[30], -probably the most popular literary genre in Byzantium[31]- that had been produced before the so-called "dark centuries" (7th-9th centuries AD) were still available and could influence later hagiographic texts[32]. The 7th-century work of Leontios bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, telling the story of John the Almsgiver[33], patriarch

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30. On hagiography, its impact and its readers see, among others, the new editions of the works by H. Delehaye (+1941), *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine, Subsidia Hagiographica* 42, Brussels 1966; Idem, *Les légendes hagiographiques, Subsidia Hagiographica* 18, Brussels 1927[3], new edition Brussels 1955; Idem, *L'ancienne hagiographie byzantine: les sources, les premiers modèles, la formation des genres (textes inédits publiés par B. Joassart et X. Lequeux), Subsidia Hagiographica* 73, Brussels 1991; see also Ch. Aigrain, *L'hagiographie, ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire*, Paris 1953.

31. Hagiography is not considered, *stricto sensu* a "literary" genre, since in its most comprehensive definition by H. Delehaye, it exceeds the literary concept. To quote Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques, op. cit.*, p. 2, the term hagiography should be applied to "writings inspired by devotion to the saints and intended to promote it". However, according to Louis Bréhier, *Journal des Savants* XV, 1917, p. 24, hagiography's role in the middle ages was similar to that of modern day novels and newspapers. See also H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich 1959, p. 267-275. On the popularity of the hagiographical texts see, in particular, Fr. Halkin, "L'hagiographie byzantine au service de l'histoire" *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, Oxford 1966, London 1967, pages 345-354, especially page 345; see also, I. Sevčenko, "La civiltà bizantina dal IV al IX secolo, Aspeti e problemi: Storia Letteraria, *Corsi di Studi* I, 1976, Bari 1977, pp. 87-173, sp. p. 110-111; On the impact of works of hagiography on a particular public possessing culture and influence in Constantinople, see W. Lackner, "Die Gestalt des Heiligen in der byzantinischen Hagiographie des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts", *The 17th International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, Washington 1986, Major Papers, New York 1986, pp. 523-536, sp. p. 530; On their literary value see, recently, the comprehensive discussion by A. Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature*, p. 140ff.

32. On hagiography as the vehicle for promotion, through repetition, of various themes by means of literary loans transmitted from one Saint's Life to another see, L. Rydén, "New Forms of Hagiography: Heroes and Saints", *The 17th International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, Washington 1986, Major Papers, New York 1986, pp. 537-554, sp. p. 540-41; see also, H. Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques, op. cit.*, Brussels 1927[3], p. 24ff.

33. A. Festugière, (in collaboration with L. Rydén) *La vie de Syméon le fou et*

of Alexandria(610-619/20AD)[34], with descriptions of city life, commerce, exchange and port activities, dating from before the Arab conquest of Egypt[35] is an excellent example of this influence. In John the Almsgiver's *Life,* we follow several characters – such as the narrator, or the *Life's* hero, patriarch John the Almsgiver- visiting the shrines of various saints connected with the city, as St. Menas[36], or St. John and St. Cyrus[37]. If we turn towards the *Life of St. Elias the Younger*[38], which, following the saint's pilgrimage, offers glimpses of the 10[th]-century

la vie de Jean de Chypre, -henceforth *Life of John the Almsgiver-*, Paris 1974, p. 2-3 dated this *Life* to the first half of the 7[th] century. On the *Life's* influence upon later texts see A. Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature*, pp. 286, 287.

34. *Life of John the Almsgiver*, p. 261.

35. See, for instance, the *Life*'s information on ships belonging to the Church of Alexandria and travelling as far as Britain in order to obtain and bring back pewter and silver ores: *Life of John the Almsgiver*, Chap. VIII, p. 354. The same *Life* also tells the story of the sea merchant who offered gold to the patriarch, asking for his prayers over his son's health and his ship's safe return from Africa (i.e. the province of Africa, capital Carthage): *Life of John the Almsgiver*, Chap. XXV, p. 376-378. Finally, it alludes to a particular skill of Egypt's builders and masonry workers. The *Life* states that, in order to help rebuild the churches and religious institutions destroyed by the Persians when they entered the city in 614AD (see A. Stratos, *Το Βυζάντιο στον Ζ' αιώνα*, t. A', 602-626AD, Athens 1965, A' pp. 268-273), patriarch John of Alexandria send to Jerusalem: a quantity of gold, goods of various kinds, "and one thousand Egyptian workers": *Life of John the Almsgiver*, Chap. XVIII, p. 366: "...καὶ χιλίους Αἰγυπτίους ἐργάτας..."

36. The existence of several "*passiones*" of St. Menas, in several oriental languages, as well as an hymn by Romanos the Melod, attest to the popularity of this saint and his cult. For the -albeit late- Greek version see *Acta Sancti Menae Martyris Aegypti*, in *Analecta Bollandiana* 1884, pp. 258-270. See also K. Haralampides, *'Ο αποκεφαλισμὸς τῶν Μαρτύρων εἰς τὰς ἱστορικοφιλολογικὰς πηγὰς καὶ εἰς τὴν βυζαντινὴν τέχνην,* Athens 1989, p. 308, n. 766.

37. *Life of John the Almsgiver*, Preface by the narrator, Leontios of Neapolis, stating how he came to Alexandria in order to pay his respects to the local saints and martyrs, Cyrus and John p. 345: "Ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παραγενάμενος ἐγὼ ὁ ἀνάξιος ἐπὶ τὸ περιπτύξασθαι καὶ ἀπολαύσει γενέσθαι τῶν ἁγίων καὶ καλλινίκων μαρτύρων Κύρου καὶ Ἰωάννου..."; Ibidem, Chap. XXXI, p. 382, describing how the patriarch went to the shrine of Cyrus and John outside the city, to pray: "Πορευομένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ ποτε ἐν τῷ ἁγίων καὶ νικηφόρων μαρτυρίῳ Κύρου καὶ Ἰωάννου, ἐν τῇ ἐνδόξῳ αὐτῶν μνήμῃ εὐχῆς ἕνεκα, ἐξελθόντος οὖν τὴν πόρταν τῆς πόλεως...". On the cult of Sts Cyrus and John at Menouthis east of Alexandria, near Aboukir (a distorted form of Apa Kyr = fa-

Northern Egypt and the everyday life of its inhabitants, we encounter the same shrine (*μαρτύριον*) of the Saints Cyrus and John[39], where St. Elias the Younger used to pray. In other words, the prevailing image of Alexandria in a Byzantine work of hagiography, more than three centuries after the Islamic conquest is still that of an "*Alexandria Christiana*". The cult of Alexandrine saints, or saints enjoying particular links with the city -such as Marc the evangelist, founder of the church of Alexandria according to tradition[40]-, is presented as still flourishing. The only problem is that we cannot be sure whether this image of a Christian shrine sheltering pilgrims unhindered under Islamic rule describes a fact depicting a real 10[th]-century situation. It is, however, probable. On the other hand, it might just be a literary *topos*, used in order to identify the site. In fact, in *Elias the Younger 's Life*, there is no description of Alexandria, or of Egypt. Thus, references to martyrs well-known to Byzantine Christians to be connected with Alexandria, such as Cyrus and John, or Menas or the bishop and martyr Peter (+311)[41], and their shrines, might serve a literary purpose: give an air of authenticity to the saint's travels and life in Egypt. The Byzantine hagiographers perfected this well-known technique of ancient novels. The technique in itself was not difficult. It consisted in introducing several known place-names, which were used in order to identify in the audience's mind[42] where the location of the saint-hero of the *Life.* These

ther Cyrus) see A. J. Festugière ed., *Sainte Thècle. Saints Côme et Damien. Saints Cyr et Jean, extraits. Saint Georges, Collections grecques de miracles*, Paris 1971, p. 217ff.

38. G. Rossi-Taibbi-, *La vita di Sant Elia il Giovane,* Istituto Siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici, *Testi e Monumenti VII,* Palermo 1962, henceforth *Life of St. Elias the Younger*. The editor, *ibidem* p. XVI-XVIII, dates the *Life* to the years 930-940AD.

39. *Life of St. Elias the Younger,* p. 30: "ἐξήρχετο δὲ πολλάκις ἀφ' ἑσπέρας καὶ ἐποίει ὁλονύκτους δεήσεις ἐν τοῖς τῶν Ἁγίων μαρτυρίοις, Μάρκου λέγω τοῦ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ καὶ Πέτρου τοῦ πανευφήμου ἐπισκόπου καὶ μάρτυρος, Μηνᾶ, Κύρου καὶ Ιωάννου τῶν πανενδόξων μαρτύρων".

40. Bishop Makarios Tillyrides, *The Patriarchate of the Great City of Alexandria,* Athens 1998, p. 11.

41. Ibidem, p. 16.

42. It is a technique seeking to reproduce in the reader's mind the urban context rather than describe the city itself. On its use by Byzantine hagiographers see for instance the comments by P. Yannopoulos, in P. Yannopoulos, "Léonce de 2

place-names could come from the hagiographer's readings. So, in the above-quoted example of *St. Elias's Life*, we cannot ascertain to what extent the references to Egyptian place-names actually came out of the author's reading the *Life of John the Almsgiver* or other texts[43]. After all, the author of Elias the Younger 's *Life* often quotes, sometimes verbatim, excerpts from a very popular saint's *Life,* connected with Egypt, the *Life of St. Anthony*, by St. Athanasius[44]. Still, it is possible that these examples, although reminiscences of first Christian centuries, might, at the same time, refer to the reality of the Middle Ages.

However, to the Byzantine mind, the words "Egypt" "Egyptians" and related subjects, did not simply evoke a geographical region and its capital city, Alexandria. Nor did they refer only to Alexandria's glorious past and its status as the seat of a patriarchal throne. They also conveyed an image indebted to the biblical tradition: in most middle-Byzantine hagiographical works there are references to the Jews in Egypt or to the Crossing of the Red Sea or to figures connected in the Bible with these episodes, in the framework of a comparison to Byzantine situations[45]. This attitude preceded the Arab conquest of Egypt. In fact, it had nothing to do with it, except in the case in which Byzantine authors took advantage of biblical situations in order to establish a link –usually in a negative way- with their contemporary politics. Thus, the Egyptians-Arabs came to be portrayed in the middle-Byzantine sources, especially the hagiographical ones, as a kind of tyrant-adversary, heretical and demonic. This image, dating from before the Arab conquest, since in patristic[46] and hagiographic tradition Egypt was "a

Naples, chef de file de l'hagiographie chypriote", *Lapithos, Chypre et l'Europe, Actes,* 1998, ed. A. Chatzisavas, Nancy 1998, pp. 175-189, esp. p. 182.

43. Such as, for instance, the *Life and Miracles of Sts Cyrus and John.* See the French translation by A. J. Festugière ed., *Sainte Thècle. Saints Côme et Damien. Saints Cyr et Jean, extraits. Saint Georges, Collections grecques de miracles*, Paris 1971, p. 215ff.

44. *Life of St. Elias the Younger*, commentary, p. 143.

45. G. Dagron, pointed out the ease with which Byzantine writers used scriptural analogies and ready-made human types from the Bible in order to justify or condemn contemporary situations and persons: see G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre. Etude sur le <césaropapisme> byzantin*, Paris 1996, p. 69-70.

46. Gregory of Nyssa, for instance, called the "Egyptian wisdom" (i. e. the Egyptian beliefs, especially religious ones) "adhering to demons" (δαιμονία) and "enchanting" (γοητική), and thought it was devised by the devil. See *Gregorius Nyssenus*, *In Basilium fratem,* O. Lendle ed., *Gregoriis Nysseni Opera 10.1. Sermones,* Leiden 1990, II, pp. 109-134, esp. p. 112/5-8: "εἶτα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δαιμονίαν τινὰ καὶ γοητικὴν σοφίαν ἐξευρηκότων ἐξ ὑποθήκης οἶμαι τοῦ ποικίλως τὰς ψυχὰς δι' ἀπάτης καθυβρίζοντος..."

land of demons", i.e. pagan gods[47], intensified after the conquest and during the subsequent Arab raids into Byzantine territories, presenting us with a picture of Egyptian soldiers as ferocious enemies of the Byzantine Empire.

It was associated with the tyrant-persecutor[48] and the evil-adversary, i. e. Satan, and developed mostly by its use in Byzantine internal politics[49], especially during the iconoclastic controversy (726-843)[50]. During the iconoclastic crisis, iconophile opponents often compared their iconoclast adversaries to negative biblical figures and the persecutions they faced to the plagues suffered by the population of Egypt when the

47. For example, according to the *passio* of St. Marina of Antioch, (ed. K.H. Usener, "Acta S. Marinae et S. Christophori", *Festschrift zur fünften Säculafeir der Carl-Ruprechts-Universität zu Heidelberg*, Bonn 1886, pp. 15-47, esp. p. 34) referring to the Biblical testimony of *Exodus*, the first "arch-demons" were born in Egypt and Ethiopia : see P. Boulhol, "Hagiographie antique et démonologie. Notes sur quelques passions grecques", *Analecta Bollandiana* 112, 1994, pp. 255-302, esp. p. 258.

48. In the *Narration of the martyrs of Jerusalem*, an hagiographical text of the 8th-century, (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Συλλογὴ παλαιστινῆς καὶ συριακῆς Ἁγιολογίας I,* Pravoslavskij Palestinskij Sbornik 19, 57, St. Petersbourg 1907, pp. 136-163), the image of the Arab governor of Jerusalem is strongly influenced by the Biblical image of a persecutor. He is called, *Ibidem*, p. 143-144, "διώκτης" and "Αἰγυπτίου πολυτροπώτερος".

49. See N. Koutrakou, "The Image of the Arabs in middle-Byzantine Politics; a Study in the Enemy Principle", *Graeco-Arabica* 5, 1993, pp. 213-224.

50. On the iconoclastic controversy see, among other general studies, M. Anastos, "Iconoclasm and Imperial Rule", *The Cambridge Medieval History IV*, Cambridge, Londres, New York 1966, reimpr. 1975, pp. 61-104, with relevant bibliography; A. Bryer-J. Herrin eds., *Iconoclasm. Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies,* (Birmingham 1975), Birmingham 1977; see also, recently, *Histoire du Christianisme* (directed by J. M. Mayeur, Ch. and L. Pietri, A. Vauchez, N. Venard), *IV: Évêques, moines et empereurs (610-1054)*, by G. Dagron, P. Riché and A. Vauchez, Paris 1993, pp. 93-165 "l'iconoclasme et l'établissement de l'orthodoxie".

Pharaoh refused to let the Jews leave. References to "Egyptians persecuting slavemasters"[51] or to the "Egyptian plague"[52] are quite commonplace in the hagiography of the Middle-Byzantine period.

The most noted victims of this negative attitude were the iconoclast emperors themselves. The comparison to a persecutor-Egyptian tyrant[53] was a common one where iconoclast emperors were concerned. It worked within the framework of what Fr. Tinnefeld called "metaphysical slandering"[54], that is, the use of evil biblical characters as a basis for comparison in order to denigrate actual emperors. Thus the chronicle of *Theophanes* used the name of "Pharaoh" in order to castigate Constantine V and his persecutions[55]. The same source also presented an iconophile emperor, Nicephorus I, abhorred by the chronicler for his economic policies, as accepting his own identification to a "hard-heart-

51. See, for instance the *Life of Tarasius,* patriarch of Constantinople, dated to the years 843-847, ed. J. A. Heikel, Ignatii Diaconi, Vita Tarasii Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani, *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* 17, 1891, pp. 395-423, esp. p. 412 : "Αἰγυπτιακούς εργοδιώκτας".

52. See, for example, a reference to the iconoclast emperor Leo V as "an Egyptian plague" in a text on the Translation of the relics of St Theodore of Stoudios, in C. van de Vorst, "La translation de S. Théodore Studite et de S. Joseph de Thessalonique", *Analecta Bollandiana* 32, 1913, pp. 27-62, esp. § 5, p. 52.

53. Used for Leo III in the so-called correspondence between pope Gregory II, emperor Leo III, and patriarch Germanos I of Constantinople, the authenticity of which is highly contested. The letter to patriarch Germanos referring to Leo III as an "Egyptian tyrant" (*PG* 98, 148C) was probably written by the patriarch himself and had a high church official as an addressee. The papal letters to Leo III although developed around an authentic nucleus, were in circulation in the Empire more than seventy years afterwards, around the year 800 AD and during the second Iconoclasm: see G. Gouillard, "Aux origines de l'Iconoclasm; le témoignage de Grégoire II?", *Travaux et Mémoires* 3, 1968, pp. 243-307, esp. p. 261ff. In the first letter of Pope Gregory II to emperor Leo III the latter is called "διώκτης" (persecutor): *Ibidem,* p. 291.

54. Fr. Tinnefeld, *Kategorien der Kaiserkritik in der byzantinischen Historiographie von Prokop bis Niketas Choniates,* Munich 1971, p. 70-71. On the use of specific Biblical characters such as king Achab of Israel in the framework of iconoclast and anti-iconoclast propaganda see, N. Koutrakou, "La notion d' Achab et la propagande de l'époque iconoclaste, fondements idéologiques et fluctuations", *Mésogeios* 13/14, 2001, pp. 123-144.

55. *Theophanes* (ed. C.de Boor) p. 423.

ed Pharaoh"[56]. A letter by a noted iconophile figure, Theodore of Stoudios to the empress Irene, who was instrumental in the first icon restoration of 787, compared her decision in favour of the iconophiles, with saving them from the "Egyptian servitude"[57]. It was a clear reference to the Jews in Egypt and an inferred comparison of the previous iconoclast emperors to the Egyptian slave masters. In a more general way, the author of a very popular 9th-century *Saint's Life,* the *Life of St. Ioannikios*[58], compared his pastoral activities with leading people "out of Egypt, that is out of the transitory and dark life to the brilliant and heavenly abode"[59].

Another interesting feature concerning the image of Egypt in Byzantine hagiography emerged at the same time. It can be witnessed in a *Saint's Life* that enjoyed a rather greater than usual degree of popularity. This *Life* had the structure and form of a novel and portrayed a Late Antique Egyptian saint, Saint Mary of Egypt. The *Life*, written in the 7th century, most probably by patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem[60], tells the

56. *Theophanes*, *(CSHB)*, p. 761: "... εἰ ὁ Θεὸς σκληρύνων ἐσκλήρωσεν τὴν καρδίαν μου ὥς τοῦ Φαραῶ ...".

57. Theodore of Stoudios (see *Theodori praepositi Studitarum Epistolae*, I, II, *PG* 99, cols. 903-1669 = G. Fatouros, ed., *Theodori Studitae Epistulae* in H. G. Beck, A. Kambylis, R. Keydell, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* (*CFHB)*, t. I-II, - henceforth Theodore of Stoudios, *Letters*- Berlin 1992), *Letters,* Letter 7, t. I, p. 24/15-19 : "... ἐπειδὴ πολὺ τὰ θεῖα φρονοῦσα (you Irene), καὶ ὁμειρομένη μητρικῶς οὐκ ἀρκετὸν ἡγήσω τὸ μόνον τὸν λαόν σου τὴ ἄνωθεν ἐπικουρία ὥς ἐξ Αἰγυπτιακῆς τινὸς δουλείας, τῆς δυσσεβοῦς, φημί, πίστεως, (=iconoclasm) λυτρώσασθαι..."

58. There are two versions of this *Life*, both dating to the mid-ninth century - at a time after the liquidation of Iconoclasm (843)-, one by the monk Peter (*Acta Sanctorum* Nov. II/I pp. 384-435) usually considered the first one written- and another by the monk Sabas *Acta Sanctorum* Nov. II/I, pp. 332-383, henceforth *Life of St. Ioannikios.* See Claudine Chatzisavas, *Les deux Vies de Saint Joannice du Mont Olympe*, Paris, Thèse es Lettres 1980, pp.1-10. See also, D. Sullivan's comments in A.-M. Talbot, ed., *The Byzantine Defenders of Images. Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation,* Washington 1998, pp. 243-351, introduction, p. 245-248 (English text pp. 255-351), as well as A. Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature*, p. 327 ff.

59. *Life of St. Ioannikios,* English translation according to D. Sullivan, op. cit. p. 265.

60. A. Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature* p. 65. For the text of the *Life of Mary of*

story of a reformed harlot out of Egypt who sailed from Alexandria to Jerusalem. There, she converted to Christianity and achieved sanctity through repentance and solitary life in the desert. The *Life*, widely circulating during the middle-Byzantine period, gave birth to adaptations and pastiches, such as the *Life of Theoktiste of Lesbos* by Nicetas Magistros[61] in the beginning of the 10th century. This extraordinary popularity was most probably due to the *Life's* structure as a novel and to the literary *topos* of the reformed harlot. However, it might be theorized that patriarch Sophronius used the theme of the *Life* and the heroine's connection with Egypt in order to allude to the status of the Empire's former oriental provinces that had fallen to the Arabs. In other words was Mary the reformed harlot a hinting to an eventual recovering of Palestine, Egypt and other former imperial provinces now under Arab rule, by the Byzantine Empire?

The above examples of references to Egypt in middle-Byzantine literature, taken from the most read historical or hagiographical texts, lead us to conclude on an image of Egypt in the Byzantine thought-world along the following lines:

First the word "Egypt" was used as a geographical term. However, the geography referred to, did not imply a specific knowledge: it was solely expressed by some known place-names. The most eminent feature among them was the Nile, which, according to Photius's readings, also determined what was Egypt: the country where flows the Nile[62]. In

Egypt see *PG* 87, cols 3697-3726, as well as *Βίος Μαρίας Αιγυπτίας*, *Acta Sanctorum*, Aprilis I, pp. XIII-XXI. See also the comments by Maria Kouli and her English translation: "Life of St. Mary of Egypt" in A.-M. Talbot, ed., *Holy Women of Byzantium. Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation,* Dumbarton Oaks, Washington 1996, pp. 65-69. (English text, *Ibidem,* pp. 70-93).

61. H. Delehaye, "La vie de sainte Théoctiste de Lesbos", *Byzantion* 1, 1924, pp. 191-200. English translation by Angela Hero, "The Life of our blessed mother Theoktiste of Lesbos who practiced asceticism and died on the island named Paros, written by Niketas the most glorious Magistros ", in A.-M. Talbot, ed., *Holy Women of Byzantium. Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washigton 1996, pp. 95-116.

62. See, Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codex 62, t. I, p. 61. This note quotes a 4th-century author Praxagoras the Athenian, and his *History of Constantine the Great*, describing the part of the Roman empire effectively ruled by Diocletian during the Tetrarchy and underlining Egypt's main feature, i.e. the overflowing of the river

fact, the average Byzantine was conscious of Egypt as a geographical area, but his knowledge of it, formed more on literary readings than by actual descriptions, was often lacking in accuracy. Suffice to quote another, very popular *Saint's Life* in Byzantium, the *Life* "of the famous and blessed Barlaam and Ioassaf", the pious prince turned hermit, which is the Christian version of the story of Buddha[63]. This novel-shaped *Life*, attributed to John of Damascus[64], defines the land of India as "vast and populous, lying far beyond Egypt. On its Egyptian side it is washed by seas and navigable gulfs but on the mainland it approaches the borders of Persia". Quite apart from the obvious geographical mistake, that reflects the confusion between Ethiopia and India which was a common one in medieval geographers[65], "Egypt" seems to provide a measure for all things.

Second, which is rather evident from the number of times Byzantine authors referred to Alexandria, the most likely connotation of the word Egypt for the inhabitants of the Byzantine empire was that of the city of Alexandria. This second assumption was in fact a double one. It held both a pagan and a Christian appeal. The first had to do with the city's traditional image as a centre of culture and Greek Letters. The second with its place as the seat of a powerful church official, of a school of theology and of a very strong Christian tradition having its own particular flavour connected with desert monasticism[66].

Nile: "Διοκλητιανός δε ο και των άλλων πρεσβύτατος, της τε Βιθυνίας ήρχε και της Αραβίας και της Λιβύης και της Αιγύπτου όσην Νειλος επερχόμενος άρδει". On the geographical perception of Egypt in Late Antiquity, in relation to its neighbouring countries and regions see D. Letsios, *Byzantium and the Red Sea. Relations with Nubia, Ethiopia and South Arabia until the Arab conquest* (in Greek), Athens 1988, p. 69ff.

63. See A. Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature*, p. 96-98.

64. Fr. Dolger, *Der griechische Barlaam-Roman. Ein Werk des H. Johannes von Damascus*, Ettal 1953.

65. See for instance, *Aethicus Ister* in A. Riese ed., *Geographi latini minores* Heilbronn 1878, pp. 71-103. For and example of the confusion between Ethiopia and India in the Byzantine sources see the chronicler Malalas in L. Dindorf ed., *Ioannis Malalae, Chronographia, CSHB,* Bonn 1831, p. 433; see also the analysis by D. Letsios, *Byzantium and the Red Sea. Relations with Nubia, Ethiopia and South Arabia until the Arab Conquest* (in Greek), Athens 1988, p. 67.

66. On Egypt's strong Christian tradition and the role played by the patriarchs

The identification of Egypt to Alexandria in the Byzantine mind was not a product solely of the middle centuries (7th-12th). It was the end of a process going back to Hellenistic and Roman[67] Egypt when Alexandria was in name as well as in fact the cultural centre of Greek-speaking *Oriens*[68], a process continuing till the Arab conquest. At the same time the Byzantines were also slowly identifying Alexandria to a Greek-speaking Christian tradition following the credo of the 4th Council of Chalcedon (451AD), quite separate from the Coptic, monophysite tradition[69], while completely ignoring the latter. In fact, the Byzantines were familiar with the political power of Egypt, especially as pertaining to the crews of the Egyptian *annona* fleet, supplying Constantinople in wheat during the first Byzantine centuries[70]. They transferred this political power to the patriarchate of Alexandria, which gradually came to represent to the Byzantine mind the personification of Egypt, regardless of the fictitiousness of its power once the Coptic element distanced itself from it.

Thus, ancient Egypt was something that the Byzantine man knew through myths, ancient authors, and especially, the Bible. On the other hand, Christian Egypt was something familiar as the region where the patriarchate of Alexandria had its seat.

Furthermore, Egypt-Alexandria held for the Byzantine thought-

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of Alexandria in the Church Councils of the first Christian centuries see, among others, Aik. Christophilopoulou, *op. cit.*, t. A' pp. 202-214; J. Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions. The church 450-680AD*, French translation by Françoise Lhoest, *Unité de l'Empire et divisions des Chrétiens. L'église de 450 à 680*, Paris 1993, passim.

67. On the partly factual and partly idealised image of Egypt and its conceptualisation in the Roman world, as expressed through the Roman Art and the Nilotic scenes in particular see, M. J. Versluys, *Aegyptiaca Romana. Nilotic Scenes and the Roman Views of Egypt*, Leiden - Boston 2002, passim.

68. On Alexandria as a hub of Greek-speaking intellectual life (both Christian and pagan as late as the end of the fifth century AD) during the Late Antiquity, see Polymnia Athanasiadou, *Damascius, The Philosophical History*, Athens 1999, p. 24ff.

69. Bishop Makarios Tillyrides, *The Patriarchate of the Great City of Alexandria*, Athens 1998, p. 18.

70. G. Dagron. *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris 1984², Greek translation by Marina Loukakis, Athens 2001, p. 604ff.

world a special connection with the past: biblical, mythical, pagan historical, Christian. Not surprisingly, Byzantine chroniclers, (following Greek and Roman ones), when describing primordial history, refer to the chronicles of the Egyptians as going back into time immemorial[71]. Thus Egypt -and Alexandria- became symbols of past glory and of time flowing. The 11th-century Byzantine philosopher, politician and historian, Michael Psellus, expressed this concept in a very concise way. In his historical work the *Chronographia,* he referred to Alexandria in Egypt[72], as well as to Athens, as "sources of all knowledge". However, in the same breath, he acknowledged that these cities were no more what they used to be. He added that he had to content himself with their "image", their "reflection" (the Greek text uses the platonic term

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71. Christian authors often turned to Egyptian and Oriental chronicles handed down from Hellenistic tradition in order to access primordial history dealing with the beginning of time in their universal chronicles. See, for instance George Syncellus, (W. Dindorf, *Georg. Syncellus et Nicephorus CP, CSHB*, Bonn 1829) on the "παλαιόν χρονικόν", an anonymous *Ancient Chronicle*, which circulated "among the Egyptians". However, the Christian authors refused to give credence to evidence of developed societies and high political institutions described as antediluvian by Egyptian hermetic texts They condemned these chronicles for their discrepancies with Biblical history, especially *Genesis*. See, W. Adler, *Time immemorial. Archaic history and its sources in Chriostian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus,* Washington 1989, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 26, pp. 55-106.

72. This traditional image of Alexandria as a cultural equivalent of Athens survived till quite late, as a kind of *topos*, a cliché in hagiographic literature. A late *Acolouthia*, for instance, of St. Euthymius, bishop of Sardes (+831), reproduces this cliché by making a reference to the saint's supposed studies in Alexandria (see *'Ακολουθία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Εὐθυμίου ἐπισκόπου Σάρδεων τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ*, Athens 1852², p. 23). As the editor of the saint's *Life* pointed out, this unusual, if not patently false, detail for an early ninth century Byzantine is clearly a *topos* in which Alexandria replaces Athens as centre for Greek Letters: see J. Gouillard, *La vie d'Euthyme de Sardes (+831). Une oeuvre du patriarche Méthode, Travaux et Mémoires* 10, 1987, pp.1-101, esp. p. 4. On the Alexandrine literary tradition of Greek learning right down to the seventh century that gave rise to this image see also B.K. Braswell, "The Grammarian Epaphroditus" in the Acts of the 11th International Congress of Classical Studies (Kavala, Greece, 24-30 August 1999)= *Πρακτικὰ ΙΑ' Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Κλασσικῶν Σπουδῶν, In Memoriam N. Livadaras*, t. II, Athens 2002, p. 11 ff.

"εἴδωλον", meaning both image and reflection), which he strove to safeguard and pass on to his students and followers[73]. Psellus's views on ancient cities and civilisations are of particular interest where the past, the flow of time and their prevailing perception in the Middle-Byzantine thought process are concerned. When applied to Egypt and the Egyptians in Middle-Byzantine Literature, they denote a preference for the "image" and for the past as opposed to the reality of the time.[74]

What the Arab conquest did was to help sharpen this process. Needless to say that the Arab conquest of Egypt, although it certainly abolished all links with the imperial administration, did not sever all Egyptian-Byzantine relations. Sea trade and commercial activities, although most reduced, continued[75]. Their success, greater than in the rest of Northern Africa, is supported by the archaeological evidence: pottery which follows closely, if it does not copy, the Coptic ceramics has been found in excavations of Byzantine sites dating from the so-called "dark centuries" (7th-9th) in the Peloponnese[76]. Similarly, Church relations continued. Dignitaries of the Church of Egypt were not absent from religious events in Constantinople. For instance, a certain "Thomas, priest and abbot of the Arsenios monastery in Egypt", is among the signatories of the Acts of the second Nicene Council (787AD) that decided the first restoration of the icons[77].

73. E. Renault, ed., *Michel Psellus, Chronographia* Paris 1976ff, t. I, p. 138. On the Byzantine image of Athens see H. Hunger, "Athen in Byzanz: Traum und Realität", *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 40, 1990, pp. 47-53.

74. This perception does not exclude the retrieval and use of the past, in particular for political reasons. On this respect see P. Magdalino, "The distance of the past in early medieval Byzantium (VII-X centuries)" *Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 46, 1999, pp. 115-46. See also recently J. Shepard, "The Uses of 'History' in Byzantine Diplomacy. Observations and Comparisons" in *Porphyrogenita, Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, eds. Ch. Dendrinos, J Harris, Ei. Harvalia-Crook, J. Herrin, Ashgate, Aldershot 2003, pp. 91-115.

75. See V. Christides, *North Africa*, p. 19ff, 65ff.

76. See Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou, "Βυζαντινὴ Κεραμικὴ ἀπὸ τὸν ἑλληνικὸ νησιωτικὸ χῶρο καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν Πελοπόννησο. Μιὰ πρώτη προσέγγιση", in *The Dark Centuries of Byzantium (7th-9th), Institute for Byzantine Research, National Research Foundation,* Athens 2001, pp. 231-266, esp. p. 234-235, 237.

77. *PG* 98, 196B.

Thus these observations bear out the statistical evidence of Photius's *Bibliotheca*, which indicated in forming Egypt's image, a preference for the marvellous, especially out of the past, as well as for Alexandria and its church.

It must also be pointed out that, when compared with the previous, imperial, centuries, there were very few new elements concerning Islamic Egypt in the Empire during the middle-Byzantine centuries. This does not mean that Byzantine citizens were not aware of major political events taking place there. The chronicle of *Theophanes* records the civil war among Harun ar Rachid's successors that did strike the province of Egypt[78]. Theophanes was, for obvious reasons, more interested in the fate of the Christians in Islamic lands and the impact the civil war had on them, than in the political situation itself. This mind-set was common among Byzantines. They were lacking details concerning Egypt after the Islamic conquest. In their absence, the Byzantine mind had to content itself with the ready-made image out of previous times, thus creating a rather distorted, -with reference to reality-, "fantasy" image of Egypt.

This attitude was consistent with the average Byzantine views concerning travelling. Theirs was a culture where travel and space could have religious connotations[79]. Also, quite apart of the obvious difficulties of travelling in an environment beset with security considerations in which, (with the exception of State, private or Church hospitality), no organised travelling existed[80], the Byzantine public preferred a kind of "mental travel" to the ancient Greek and Roman World[81]. It may

78. *Theophanes,* p. 751: "κἀντεῦθεν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην εἰς διαφόρους κατατμηθέντες ἀρχάς, τά τε δημόσια πράγματα καὶ ἀλλήλους κατέστρεψαν, σφαγαῖς καὶ ἁρπαγαῖς καὶ παντοίαις ἀτοπίαις πρός τε ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοὺς χριστιανοὺς συγκεχυμένοι". See Aik. Christophilopoulou, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία*, B1, p. 174.

79. A. Guerrau, "Anthropologie de l'espace", in *Uomo e spacio nell'Alto Medioevo*, Centro Italiano di Studi sull Alto Medioevo, Spoleto, 4-9 April 2002.

80. H. C. Peyer, *Von der Gastfreundschaft zum gasthaus. Studien zur Gastlichkeit im Mittelalter*, Hannover 1987, italian translation by N. Antonacci, *Viaggiare in Medioevo. Dall'ospitalità alla locanda*, Roma-Bari 2000, pp. 47, 83, passim.

81. On the Byzantine travelling -or rather non-travelling- mentality see N. Oikonomides, "Les marchands qui voyagent, ceux qui ne voyagent pas et la

even be theorised that it was this mental attitude, stemming from admiration for the ancient times and paying them in the form of the encyclopaedic endeavours and the literary imitation (the "mimesis")[82] the highest possible tribute, that, combined with the above difficulties, prevented the Byzantines from developing travel in the real-time world and their own geographic sciences.

A clarification is needed here. For the average Byzantine the patriarchate of Alexandria belonged to the reality of the time. Although its image and its link to Alexandria and Egypt originated in the past, it was viewed as something familiar and real, for the wider Byzantine public probably the only continuity they had with Islamic Egypt.

This situation is faithfully reflected in the Middle-Byzantine Literature. Byzantine sources, although they do not accurately reflect medieval Egypt, do not, at the same time, merely present us with reminiscences from ancient, especially Hellenistic, times or with references to Biblical Egypt. What they do is to present us with an image based on fictionalized -often fixed- elements, inherited from previous periods, that made up their vision of Egypt. This vision included, in ecclesiastical matters, Egypt as a model. Theodore of Stoudios, for instance, writing to the afterwards patriarch Methodius, answers a question about the possibility of an orthodox priest to use for prayers a church taken over by heretics in the affirmative, under specific conditions, citing as a model of conduct St. Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria[83]. In most cases, however, Egypt's perception was one out of myths, the Bible and Christian tradition. For the Byzantines, Egypt was the ancient land of the Nile and of Christian Alexandria.

pénurie des textes géographiques byzantins", *Voyages et voyageurs à Byzance et en Occident du VIe au XIe siècle,* Genève 2000, pp. 307-319.

82. H. Hunger, "The imitation (mimesis) of the Antiquity in Byzantine Literature", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23-24, 1969/70, pp. 15-38. Idem, "The Reconstruction and Conception of the Past in Literature," in *The 17th International Congress of Byzantine Studies,* Washington 1986, Major Papers, New York 1986, pp. 505-23, esp. pp. 515-6.

83. Theodore of Stoudios, *Letters*, t. II, p. 833. The letter is dated between 821 and 826AD.

Thus, the language adopted by Middle-Byzantine authors in order to refer to Egypt and the Egyptians, opting for attributes often inherited from previous periods, helped during the period under discussion, acquaint the Byzantine man with their existence. Egypt was for the Byzantine thought-process, a "fantasy" out of elements of the past, where sometimes an intrusion of reality, in the form of intra-church relationship or Byzantine-Arab relations, helped shape and reshape the image: the perfect example of a fantasy becoming more real than reality.

Maria Leontsini

VIEWS REGARDING THE USE OF THE SYRIAN LANGUAGE IN BYZANTIUM DURING THE 7th CENTURY

The 7th century has been regarded as the era of transition from Late Antiquity to the Byzantine period. The changes that marked this period led from the ancient constitutional structure to a new social reality. During this period, particular interest lies with the study of rivalry expressed both in the religious and in the doctrinal level. An aspect of this rivalry has been expressed through the use of different languages. In Constantinople an obvious preference is observed towards the use of the Greek language in religious matters. This fact is explained by the quite voluminous patristic tradition and the establishment of doctrinal expression in the Greek language by the Oecumenical Councils with the close cooperation between Church and State.[1] At the same time, the memory of the Roman past of the Empire and the preservation of its bonds to the old senatorial élite of the West favored the use of the Latin language, particularly regarding the administrative and military terminology until the end of the 7th century.[2] Although during this period there are quite a few testimonies concerning the presence of Syrians and the use of the Syrian language in both Rome[3]

1. J. F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture*, Cambridge 1990, 281-286.

2. Features of this relationship are discussed in the studies of T. K. Lounghis, "Δοκίμιο γιὰ τὴν κοινωνικὴ ἐξέλιξη στὴ διάρκεια τῶν λεγόμενων 'Σκοτεινῶν Αἰώνων' (602-867)", *Σύμμεικτα* 6 (1985) 147, and N. Oikonomidès, "L'épigraphie des bulles de plomb byzantines", in G. Cavallo - C. Mango (eds.), *Epigrafia medievale greca e latina. Ideologia e funzione*, Spoleto 1995, 157-161.

3. B. Bischoff, "The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages", *Speculum* 36 (1961) 219; G. Fiaccadori, "Cassiodorus and the School of Nisibis", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985) 135-137.

and Constantinople (whilst an important number of mostly theological works are translated into Syriac), Byzantine texts express considerable reservations regarding the Syrians and their language.

The point of interest in respect of these reactions – at times quite obvious – is the fact that they were expressed during an era when, according to researchers of Syrian literary history like Sebastian Brock, translation activity has been quite rich and reflected the communication between various linguistic traditions.[4] The impression, when referring to the Byzantine texts of the 7th century, but also later quotations applied to it, is the lack of information regarding these activities. This is only indicative of the attitude adopted by the Byzantines against the production of texts in the Syrian language. Nevertheless, the Byzantines had anticipated quite well – and as it is clearly reflected in their texts – a theological tradition of considerable power survived among a large number of Syrians who opposed the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. This difference of opinion has been strengthened during the 7th century, due to the removal of eastern populations, e.g. those of Syria and Armenia,[5] from the control of the central government. This gap deepened even more due to the attitude adopted by the élite of secular and religious authorities of Constantinople against all those originating from the Eastern provinces, as well as the diversion of views brought to the Byzantine capital by these eastern visitors. These discriminations had been enhanced by other factors, i.e. the change in the way of life in the East, which had been brought about by the recess of institutional regimes in the cities and the incapability of the central government to intercept the Arab conquests.[6]

During the era of great military campaigns, initially that of Emperor Heraclius himself against the Persians and then those of his generals against the Arabs, the East appeared as a region without any considerable town

4. S. Brock, "Greek into Syriac and Syriac into Greek", *Journal of the Syriac Academy* 3 (1977) 1-17 (repr. in idem, *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity*, London 1984, no. II).

5. Nina G. Garsoian, "Secular Jurisdiction over the Armenian Church (Fourth-Seventh Centuries)", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983) 224-228; J.-P. Mahé, "Confession religieuse et identité nationale dans l'Église Arménienne du VIIe au XIe siècle", in Nina G. Garsoian - J.-P. Mahé (eds.), *Des Parthes au Califat. Quatre leçons sur la formation de l'identité arménienne* (Travaux et mémoirs monographies 10), Paris 1997, 59-64; G. Dagron, "Préface", *ibid*, 5-7.

6. S. Vryonis, "Aspects of Byzantine Society in Syro-Palestine: Transformations in the Late Fourth and Fifth Centuries", in idem (ed.), *Byzantine Studies in Honor of M. N. Anastos*, Malibu 1985, 43-63.

network. Nevertheless, strong coherence had been cultivated between the local military heads of the region and local Churches.[7] These armies which rebelled repeatedly against Constantinople[8] originated from the East, particularly Asia Minor, and had already experienced the existence of, among others, the Armenian Church. In any case, during that era, despite the fact that the Byzantine administrative framework was collapsing, the capability to use the Greek language was a must in great cities which, after the second half of the century, were left outside the Empire, such as Damascus, which also became the centre of the Arab Caliphate. This is demonstrated by the *Life and Work of Saint John of Damascus*, during the late 7th-early 8th century. In parallel, the orthodox communities of Palestine cultivated the bonds with the orthodox centres of Constantinople.[9] The production of literary works, both of secular and theological nature, has continued during the 7th century in these monastic centres,[10] as was pointed out by many scholars, such as Paul Lemerle[11] and Cyril Mango.[12] The interception of use of the Greek language, in favour of the Arab language, in the Caliphate has been established after mid-8th century, during the reign of Chalif Omar II (717-720) and has been concluded by the Abbasid Al-Mansour (754-775), when the capital of the Caliphate had already been transferred to Baghdad.[13] This linguistic use of the Greek language by the

7. See the abstract of my paper "Adherence to the Chalcedonian Creed and organisation of the Byzantine army in the seventh century", presented to the *XXe Congrès International des Études Byzantines (19-25 Août 2001), Pré-Actes* 3. *Communications libres*, Paris 2001, 183.

8. W. E. Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest (471-843). An Interpretation*, Amsterdam 1981, 70.

9. Haldon, *Byzantium*, 288 and n. 11; Marie-France Auzépy, "De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIIIe-IXe siècles): Étienne le Sabaïte et Jean Damascène", *Travaux et mémoirs* 12 (1994) 183-218.

10. F. R. Trombley, "The Greek Communities of Umayyad Palestine (661-749 A.D.)", in J. M. Fossey (ed.), *Proccedings of the First International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora*, Amsterdam 1991, 261-269.

11. P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin*, Paris 1971, 22-24 and 101-102.

12. C. Mango, "Greek Culture in Palestine after the Arab Conquest", in G. Cavallo - G. di Gregorio - Marilena Maniaci (eds.), *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bizanzio*, 1, Spoleto 1991, 149-160.

13. The Greek language had been the official language of Muslim diplomacy; Muawiyah tolerated Christianity until 698, by which time Arabic had been established as the official language: *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj, Bar-Hebraeus*, trans. from the Syriac by E. A. Wallis Budge, 1, London 1932, 106. For consequenses of these measures,

state administrators of the first Arab Caliphate, from the mid-7th to the mid-8th century, i.e. after the Arab conquest, demonstrated the unique potential of the Greek as a language of religion, which allowed the production of a large number of theological, hymnographic and liturgical works. The parallel production of works of relevant content in the Syrian language, as well as the production of translations from Greek, shows that the knowledge of the Greek language in Syria and Palestine had been quite common, despite the adverse conditions prevailing during the 7th century. Exactly at this time, linguistic loans from the Greek language into these works increased significantly. As demonstrated by Sebastian Brock, translations from Greek were vastly numerous, whilst the use of Greek terminology in Syrian texts was multiplied during the 7th century.[14]

Exactly at this time, the sources demonstrate a series of reservations, at times even reactions, against all elements referring to Syrian origin and language, thus lending a negative nuance to the general image of the Syrians. This attitude seems rather exaggerated, considering the fact that the Aramaic and Syro-Chaldean languages had been used by Jesus and the Apostles, while these were also the liturgical languages of the Jacobite, Nestorian and Maronite Churches.[15] On the other hand, multilingualism has then been considered, as per the tradition, a gift given to the Apostles to assist them to preach the Gospel. The acceptance of this multilingualism, mentioned in the apostolic texts and the preaching of the first Fathers, has been intercepted following the doctrinal conflict between the Eastern Churches.[16] Nevertheless, the development of multilingualism in Palestine, at a time when the establishment and development of monastic centres (many of which maintained bonds with monasteries of Constantinople) attracted the believers of the East, derived from the traditional co-existence of various nationalities.[17]

see also Averil Cameron, "The Eastern Provinces in the 7th Century AD: Hellenism and the Emergence of Islam", in S. Said (ed.), *Ἑλληνισμός. Quelques jalons pour une histoire de l'identité greque*, Leiden 1991, 287-313 (repr. in idem, *Changing Cultures in Early Byzantium*, London 1984, no. IV).

14. S. Brock, "The Syriac Background to the World of Theodore of Tarsus", in M. Lapidge (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore. Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence*, Cambridge 1995, 31-32 (repr. in idem, *From Ephrem to Romanos. Interactions between Syriac and Greek in Late Antiquity*, Aldershot 1999, no. III).

15. G. Bardy, *La question des langues dans l'Église Ancienne*, 1, Paris 1948, 11-31.

16. A. Michel, "Langues liturgiques", *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 8, Paris 1924, 2580-2583; idem, "Langues (don de)", *ibid.*, 2591-2601.

17. P. Peeters, "Traductions et traducters dans l'hagiographie orientale à l'époque

The quite unique phenomenon of multilingual monks is mentioned by the Western visitors in the Holy Land during the 4th and 5th centuries.[18] Regarding the Syrian language, we know from testimonies of pilgrims that they were used in liturgical practice, along with the Greek and Latin languages. Books on the ecclesiastic history of the 5th century, – like that of Sokrates Scholastikos (i.e. officially recognised legal advisor) – point out that, during the First Oecumenical Council, "all churches, which filled Europe and Libya and Asia, carried out the liturgies to God together; and the house of God, large like His Grace contained Syrians, and Cilicicans, and Phoenicians, and Arabs and Palestinians, and Egyptians, and Thybians and Libyans".[19] Sozomenos, a church writer almost contemporary to Sokrates, also mentions a crowd of saints and monks, originating from Syria and Palestine of the first Christian years, but also a multitude of martyrs which suffered a great deal from the Persian kings in the more recent past.[20] Furthermore, when Sozomenos mentions Ephrem the Syrian,[21] he points out that he has been admired by all the Greeks and that, although he was a Syrian, he out-worked the most important of Greek authors.

The same sense of recognition of the wisdom of Ephrem the Syrian also appears in the religious poetry of George of Pisidia, in the 7th century. One of his most extensive poems is dedicated to the doctrinal conflict with

byzantine", *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922) 241-298; G. Dagron, "Aux origines de la civilisation byzantine: langue de culture et langue d'État", *Revue Historique* 241 (1969) 46-54 (repr. in idem, *La romanité chrétienne en Orient*, London 1984, no. I).

18. Bardy, *Question*, 17; B. Rochette, "Des pélerins latins en Terre Sainte. Rencontre des langues et de cultures", *Byzantion* 66 (1996) 362-372. For a recent and unanimous study of these communities activities see now R. Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 2), Princeton 1995.

19. Sokrates Scholastikos, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. R. Hussey, Oxford 1893 (rev. ed. W. Bright, Hildesheim - New York 1992), I, 8, 5..

20. Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. J. Bidez - G. C. Hansen, *Sozomenus Kirchengeschichte*, 3, ²Berlin 1960, 16, 1-11, 127-130. An example of this tradition, which survives in a Greek manuscript attributed to the copyist of the Stoudios Monastery in Constantinople, is the Greek life based on a Syriac text of a Christian martyr Saint Sirin: P. Devos, "Sainte Sirin, martyre sous Khosrau Ier Anosarvan", *Analecta Bollandiana* 64 (1946) 87-131.

21. The surviving Greek corpus of Ephrem is only scarcely equivalent to anything written in Syriac: S. Brock, "Ἑλληνικὴ καὶ συριακὴ μετάφραση", in A. Ph. Christides (ed.), *Ἱστορία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσας. Ἀπὸ τὶς ἀρχές ἕως τὴν Ὕστερη Ἀρχαιότητα*, Thessaloniki 2001, 692.

Severus of Antioch, whose preaching seemed to be accepted in the Byzantine capital. George of Pisidia invokes the correct faith of Ephrem the Syrian to strongly condemn the heretic preaching of Severus of Antioch. His verse – "originate from the Syrians and attack the Syrians" – is obviously aimed at showing that the heretic preaching of Severus,[22] although during the 7th century it was still accepted by the Syrians, contradicted the correct beliefs of Ephrem. The deep cut, effected during the Council of Chalcedon, continued to preoccupy Constantinople during the 7th century, as it still divided the conscience of Christian populations. This division had created clear lines of distinction between those in favour of the Chalcedon doctrines[23] and being the subjects of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Papal Seat of Rome and those rejecting them and being the subjects of the Eastern Patriarchates.[24]

Already from the first decades of the 7th century, although a vivid interest had been expressed by Heraclius regarding the eastern provinces – the Emperor attempting to demonstrate mostly their military significance – his campaigns failed to fill the gap. Both Byzantine sources, like the *Chronography* of Theophanes the Confessor, and Syrian ones, like the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian, although following different paths, convey strong sentiments of rejection facing the political settlements held between Heraclius and the Eastern Churches. In Theophanes' *Chronography* this attitude is not only scolded, but also described as the point of initiation of the ordeals faced by the whole Empire, as it has been considered as a retreat from the Orthodox preaching of Chalcedon.[25] Michael I, the Syrian, writes substantially later, but he also expresses the views of the anti-Chalcedonian movement in the East, strongly accusing Heraclius for failing to come to conflict with those preaching the Chalcedon doctrines in Constantinople and Rome, although he showed sympathy towards the Monophysite clergy and

22. *Κατὰ δυσσεβοῦς Σευέρου Ἀντιοχείας*, in *Carmi di Giorgio di Pisidia*, ed. L. Tartaglia, Turin 1998, 298, 591: "*Τῇ σῇ δὲ γλώττῃ τὴν διάγνωσιν φέρου ἐκ τῶν Σύρων πρόελθε καὶ μάχου Σύροις*"; Brock, "Background", 40.

23. J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene (395 A.D.-802 A.D.)*, 1, ²London 1966, 191.

24. E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 2. *De la disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476-565)*, Paris - Brussels - Amsterdam 1949, 31-39; F. Winkelmann, *Die östlichen Kirchen in der Epoche der christologischen Auseinandersetzungen (5.-7. Jahrhundert)*, (Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarsrellungen 1/6), Berlin 1983, 94-95.

25. Michael the Syrian, ed. J.-B. Chabot, *La Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarch Jacobite d'Antioche*, 2, Paris 1901 (repr. Brussels 1963), XI, iii, 412-413.

people in Edessa.[26] Still, the people and clergy of this city welcomed in great honour the Emperor and his army, but Heraclius' denial to condemn in public the Council of Chalcedon attracted the wrath of the Monophysites. The ecclesiastic *Chronicle* of Bar Hebraeus, nevertheless, mentions that Heraclius strengthened the Monastery of St. Maron, which earlier also benefited from Justinian I, because it had been strongly attacked by the local Monophysites.[27]

The testimonies from the other side also clearly indicate that the variance between local Churches has not only been with regard to the official Byzantine doctrines, but also to various local conflicts. However, Greek tradition weighed over the monastic hierarchy in the Monastery of St. Sabas, one of the greatest Palestinian monasteries, which played an eminent rôle in anti-Monothelete propaganda and the library of which offered hospitality to the extended studies of both Cyril of Skythopolis (6th century) and John of Damascus (8th century); the bonds it maintained with the Church of Constantinople had always been quite developed. Although the co-existence of Greek-speaking and Syrian-speaking monks had not been under equal terms, we have many instances of appointments in these prior officials. As is obvious by the *Typikon* of the Monastery of St. Sabas (7th century), the main criterion for the election of its *hegoumenos* has been knowledge of the Greek language. According to the rules of this regulation, only Greek-speaking monks were allowed to the priorate, whilst Syrian-speaking monks were allowed to other deaconry tasks.[28] A discriminative attitude had been adopted regarding the climb to monastic hierarchy, in favour of those speaking the Greek language. In any case, this discrimination related to the education of the monks, as well as the doctrinal correctness of their beliefs, confirmed by their knowledge of the declarations of the Oecumenical Councils.

The assuring of the correctness of beliefs had not only been binding for

26. Michael the Syrian, XI, iii, 411-412; for the reception of Heraclius' policies in the East, see also B. Flusin, *Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de Palestine au début du VIIe siècle*, 2, Paris 1992, 283-291.

27. C. Karalevskij, "Antioche", *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclesiastiques*, 3, Paris 1924, 591.

28. Y. Meimaris, *Κατάλογος τῶν νέων ἀραβικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἱεράς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης τοῦ ὄρους Σινᾶ/Katalug al-Mahtutat al-'arabiyyah al-muktasafah haditan bi-Dayr Sant Katarin al-muqaddas bi-Tur Sina*, Athens 1985, 15 and n. 5; S. H. Griffith, "From Aramaic to Arabic: The Languages of the Monasteries of Palestine in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Period", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51 (1997) 11-31.

the monks, but also affected the fame of well-recognised and popular saints, as indicated by the example of Daniel the Stylite. This saint originated in Syria and lived in Constantinople during the 5th century. At the same time, St. Alexander, an eminent personage of Syrian asceticism, had founded the Monastery of the Akoimetoi in the Byzantine capital. This monastery housed Latin-speaking and Greek-speaking monks, along with Syrian-speaking monks.[29] Nevertheless, the *Life of Daniel*, written in the early 7th century, shows that the use of the Syrian language by the Saint attracted suspicion for doctrinal deviations, since it rendered it impossible to control his views. Only his recognition by Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople, relieved him of all accusations.[30] The same accusations were leveled against the monks of the Monastery of the Akoimetoi (*ἀκοίμητοι*, lit. sleepless ones), as per the biographer of St. Markellos.[31] The biographer of St. Markellos of the Akoimetoi clearly describes the prominence of the view that Syrians tended to adopt Monophysitism. Relevant mentions to the avoidance of heretic deviations were advised to anyone who demonstrated any tolerance to the Monophysites.

Equal deliberateness is demonstrated in the brief edifying narration contained in the *Leimonarion* (lit. The Spiritual Meadow) by Ioannes Moschos. The spread of these narrations, both in Rome and in the Byzantine capital, constituted a unique condition for the bringing together of the West and the East within a common doctrinal framework. Furthermore, the spread of the Syrians outside Constantinople[32] is also testified in Rome since the 6th century.[33] Although the information we possess regarding their immigration from Syria to Rome is scant, and this also applies to the 7th

29. G. Dagron, "Les moines et la ville: le monachisme à Constantinople jusqu'au concile de Chalcedoine (451)", *Travaux et mémoires* 4 (1970) 235-237 (repr. in idem, *La romanité chrétienne en Orient*, London 1984, no. VIII).

30. *Vita S. Danielis Stylitae*, in H. Delehaye, *Les Saints Stylites*, Brussels 1923, 17: "we did not comprehend when we attached himself close to us and incorrectly applied liturgy; he was of Syrian origin and we did not know how to speak to him. Then the Archbishop asked them how they understood that he was a heretic since they did not understand his language."

31. G. Dagron, "La Vie ancienne de Saint Marcel l'Acémète", *Analecta Bollandiana* 86 (1968) 274-275; Elisabeth Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins*, Paris 1993, 148-150.

32 For the Syrian refugees in the Byzantine Empire and the problems they caused in ecclesiastical administration, see Haldon, *Byzantium*, 366 and n. 109.

33 Mariam de Ghantuz Cubbe, "Una leggenda su alcuni santi monaci siriani emigrati in Umbria nel secolo segnalata dallo storico maronita Duwayhi", *Studi sull'Oriente Christiano* 2/1 (1988) 5-40 and 2/2 (1988) 5-30.

century, the introduction of Syrian prototypes into liturgical works in Italy is demonstrated at exactly this period.[34] In the short edifying narrations of the *Leimonarion* of Ioannes Moschos,[35] monks and laymen from Syria are brought back to the correct Orthodox faith, convinced by various miracles. A stylite in Antioch, a monk in Constantinople and a Syrian money-lenter are suspected for their faith and their possible adoption of the heresy of Severus.[36] Moreover, the adoption of the heresy of the Acephalus, i.e. Severus who is also called the Monger, by the *argyroprates* (*argentarius*, lit. seller of silver/money-dealer)[37] mentioned above, refers to a similar case, alluded to another, quite popular, saint's biography of the 7th century. This is the *Life of St. Symeon Salos*, written by Leontios of Neapolis during the first part of the 7th century.[38] Symeon has been a Syrian and Syrian-speaking. After an ascetic purification in the desert, he returns in Emessa, where he punishes the tavern keepes (i.e. *kapeloi*) with the help of a demon, just because they also belonged to the heresy of the Acephalus.[39] This quite unique intervention of the Saint brings the heretics back to the Orthodox faith. The biographer of the Syrian saint suggests this demonic attitude as the way for the salvation from an equally demonic heresy. This devilish use of the Syriac language traditionally recorded even by christian writers was also repeated in Theodoretos of Cyrrus' *History*.[40]

The recognition of the Church of Constantinople by the Syrian-speakers, who were also heretics, aimed at advising all those declining from the official doctrinal declarations. The mentions of edifying narrations of this

34. J.- M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VIe s. -fin du IXe s.)*, 1-2, Brussels 1980, vol. 1, 105-106; vol. 2, 74 and n. 94.

35. B. Baldwin, "Moschos John", *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 2, New York - Oxford 1991, 1415.

36. Ioannes Moschos, *Pratum Spirituale*, ed . J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 87, col. 3065-3067.

37. For the influence of this guild in Constantinople and other cities, see A. Kazhdan - A. Cutler, "Argyroprates", *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1, New York - Oxford 1991, 165.

38. A.-J. Festugière - L. Rydén, *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, Paris 1974, 343-409.

39. Haldon, *Byzantium*, 428-429; Christina Angelidi, "Ἡ παρουσία τῶν σαλῶν στὴ βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία", in Chryssa Maltezou (ed.), *Οἱ Περιθωριακοὶ στὸ Βυζάντιο*, Athens 1993, 98-99.

40. Bardy, *Question*, 19 and n. 9; J. Corbett, "Greek and Syriac: Biculturalism in North Syria ca. 400-550 AD", *The 17th Byzantine Congress, Abstracts of Short Papers*, Washington, D.C. 1986, 79-80.

time in these examples, both in Constantinople and in Emessa, refer to the spreading of conflict against the heresies during the 7th century. This could explain the translation of this saint's *Life* in Syrian and its inclusion in orthodox Syrian manuscripts, pointed out by Sebastian Brock.[41] These examples show that the Syrians were continuously considered among those showing an inclination to adopt the heresy. The Syrian language seemed to induce to the Greek-speakers the sense that it was a magical or even demonical language, as shown by the example of the high official suffering from demons in the *Life of Saint Ilarion*. This official from Constantinople visited the Monastery of Ilarion in Gaza and, when presented before the Saint, he started, due to the demon that possessed him, to speak Syrian, although he never spoke the language until then.[42] Although Ilarion lived in the 4th century, the spread of this *Life* after the 5th century had been considerable. The reproduction of this work during the 7th and the 8th century is confirmed by the report of Papadopoulos-Kerameus for its existence in a manuscript of this era in the Dionysiou Monastery in Mount Athos.[43] This episode from Ilarion's life seems similar to the information in the *Life of Daniel the Stylite* that he also spoke to demons in Syriac. These demons lived in an ancient temple on the Bosphorus, which had then been purified. The same capability to exorcise the demons had been also possessed by Saint Procopius, who had been also an interpreter of the Syrian language.[44]

Therefore, the Syrian language is being recorded as the language of those who had the power to clash with the demons. The unknowable to the Byzantines language of the Syrians, not only in the provinces but all the more in the Capital, gave them the properties of sorcerers. This power of exorcism had not always been condemned by the Church. Furthermore, the renewal of ecclesiastical rules that condemned the practice of sorcery had

41. Brock, "Background", 42 and n. 63; Marlia Mundell Mango, "The Production of Syriac Manuscripts, 400-700 AD", in *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bizanzio*, 161-179.

42. (Ἱερωνύμου καὶ Σωφρονίου), *Βίος τοῦ Ὁσίου Πατρὸς Ἡμῶν Ἰλαρίωνος*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, 5, ²Brussels 1963, 22, 99-101

43. *Βίος τοῦ Ὁσίου Πατρὸς Ἡμῶν Ἰλαρίωνος*, 82-83 and n. 1.

44. A. Kazhdan - Nancy Patterson Sevcenko, "Prokopios saint", *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3, New York - Oxford 1991, 1731. On the use of the Syrian language by the devil, see also G. Dagron, "Communication et stratégies linguistiques", in N. Moschonas (ed.), *Ἡ ἐπικοινωνία στὸ Βυζάντιο*, Athens 1993, 83.

been quite vast during the 7th century. Professor Spyros Troianos has located a rather bizarre wording in the regulation of the Council in Trullo (691) which condemned those calling themselves diviners or the so-called *Hekatontarches*.[45] The disjunctive expression the diviners or the Hekatontarches means these terms had the same meaning, although the word *Hekatontarches* had been to the Byzantines a centurion, a military rank of Roman origin. Nevertheless, the correlation of this word with the coptic word *heka*, meaning "magic power" is quite convincing and could refer to the eminent belief regarding the Eastern sorcerers. Koukoules also, in the chapter on the nationality of astrologers, diviners and sorcerers, mentions that the Chaldean nationality had been considered as a synonym for sorcerer.[46] The establishment of the Syrian language as the language of demons, as located in religious texts of the time, could of course originate from those beliefs but, during the 7th century, it had been used to face Monophysitism.

The threat for the Orthodox beliefs of Chalcedon, as coherently supported by the members of the Senate and the clergy of the capital, had been stressed out by the turmoil imposed by the challenge of political power by the army of the eastern provinces.[47] The confusion invoked in Constantinople by the increase of the influence in Byzantine society of these powers did not only refer to political balance. These social transformations created disappointment and recriminations which also involved clergymen and monks. The enthusiastic standards of Syrian asceticism presented in the *Lives* of the Akoimetoi, Alexandros and Markellos, and Symeon Salos, declaring that the ascetic life should be absonant to secular life and the economic needs it creates,[48] was difficult to be adopted by the people of Constantinople. Nevertheless, the despise of secular life should not mislead to the exclusion of the faithful from the ecclesiastical institutions, as shown by the example of a Syrian monk in the *Leimonarion*. This monk did not come to church to pray, but he prayed alone as he was a Monophysite.[49] The advise of religious texts aimed not only in reminding of the doctrinal

45. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. II, 389; S. Troianos, *Μαγεία καὶ Δίκαιο στὸ Βυζάντιο*, Athens 1997, 39-40 and n. 67. It is perhaps possible to think if this word could be related to the heresy of the *hekaton* (lit. hundred): G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, 1972, 424.

46. Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, 1/2, Athens 1948, 136-137.

47. Lounghis, "Δοκίμιο", 150-155.

48. V. Déroche, *Études sur Léontios de Néapolis*, Uppsala 1995, 250-251 and 298, n. 5.

49. Ioannes Moschos, *Pratum Spirituale*, I, col. 2965-2966.

framework, but also in promoting the rules of Orthodox behaviour against the heretic anti-standards.

The creation of discrimination against the Syrians and their language did not affect only the Syrian-speaking monks, who since the 5th century streamed into Constantinople. These people had to be deviated by any dividing heretical inclination. This assumption is strengthened by the information regarding the influence exercised by Makarios, Patriarch of Antioch, in Constantinople during the second half of the 7th century.[50] The condemnation of himself and his disciples by the Sixth Oecumenical Council in 681 is indicative of the necessity to deviate all heretic interpretations that would find ground to evolve within the Byzantine capital. The same council had also expelled the bi-lingual priest from Apameia Syria. He had also been prohibited to write the Creed of Faith in Syriac. This priest's claim aimed, as per the members of the Council, to the cancellation of the dispute which had come over the Byzantine troops following the defeat at the war against the Bulgarians.[51] The examination of the beliefs of this priest showed that he had been a Monophysite and, for this reason, he could not produce the necessary qualifications to translate a doctrinal text into the Syrian language, especially for the use of the troops that had been defeated in the war against the Bulgarians some months earlier.

This discriminating attitude towards the Syrians[52] had been connected during the 8th century with the condemnation of the policy applied by Leon III, called "Syrian-born" in the *Life of Stephanos the Younger.*[53] The accusation which was attributed to the Jakobite Patriarch Athanasius, as the man "filled by the cunning that is native to Syrians", was related to the fact

50. Haldon, *Byzantium*, 314 ff.; W. Brandes, "Die melkitischen Patriarchen von Antiocheia im 7. Jahrhundert. Anzahl und Chronologie", *Le Muséon* 111 (1998) 37-57.

51. *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum tertium, Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, Series secunda, 2/2, ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1992, 696-700. On the mediation of clergymen between revolted troops and the political authorities, see Kaegi, *Unrest*, 70.

52. On the massive streaming of monks from Syrian and the Eastern Provinces in general into Constantinople, already from the 5th century, see Malamut, *Sur la route des saints*, 149. The Syrians are mentioned between the *sons of Hellenes* (i.e. Pagans) and *the mob of heretics, in the Life of Stephanos the Younger*, ed. Marie-France Auzépy, *La vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre*, Aldershot 1997, 123, 26.

53. *Life of Stephanos the Younger*, 98, 15; on Constantine V, *ibid.* 132, 1 and 227, n. 230; Nike-Catherine Koutrakou, *La propagande impériale byzantine. Persuasion et réaction (VIIIe-Xe siècles)*, Athens 1994, 426.

that he made Emperor Heraclius sign in Hierapolis, along with the high-ranking clergy of the East, the text of deviating principle.[54] Patriarch Sergius was also called in the same context by Theophanes a "Syrian-born"[55] and had been condemned by the Sixth Oecumenical Council as a heretic.[56] The establishment of suspicion against the Syrians for heretic attitudes will be accomplished after Iconoclasm and this national discrimination will be a sign of the policy of the adoration of icons. Emperor Constantine V himself, who attempted to subdue the clergy to the military superiority of Asia Minor, has been accused, like his father and predecessor, of being a Syrian.[57] During this period, the eastern provinces of Syria and Palestine had been outside the Byzantine borders, although many monastic centres cultivated, as mentioned above, both the Syrian letters and the Greek studies. The difference of language, nevertheless, had been one of the factors that formed a gap in Byzantine society, even before the change of sovereign in the East had been concluded.

54. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, *Theophanis Chronographia*, 1, Leipzig 1883 (repr. New York 1980), 329, 24; Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. II, 251.

55. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 330, 1.

56. *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum tertium, Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, Series secunda, 2/1, ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1992, 482, 15.

57. Cf. supra, n. 51.

Demetrios Letsios

THEOPHILUS AND HIS «KHURRAMITE» POLICY. SOME RECONSIDERATIONS

I

Iconoclasm, a religious controversy over the veneration of icons, was for Byzantium a social and political issue between 723 and 843. During these years, with a hiatus between the two iconoclastic periods (787-815) the unity and peace of church and society were once more broken. The intellectual and social background of iconoclasm[1] has been often discussed and it is not our purpose to take up this subject once again. It is however important to stress that the imperial dynasty, which initiated this spiritual movement, originated from a region in northern Syria, where Christianity had had to fight long ago a struggle against beliefs that were a mixture of Judaism and Hellenism.[2]

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1. As a general introduction with many interesting contributions and references to further literature, see A. Bryer - Judith Herrin (eds.), *Iconoclasm. Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, Birmingham 1977; cf. further the introduction in Alice-Mary Talbot (ed.), *Byzantine Defenders of Images. Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation*, Washington 1998, vii-xvi.

2. Cf. the remark of Averil Cameron, "The Eastern Provinces in the 7th Century A.D. Hellenism and the Emergence of Islam", in S. Said (ed.), *ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ. Quelques jalons pour une histoire de l'identité grecque*, Leiden 1991, 287-313, here 288, concerning the literature of the Near East, during the century of emergent Islam: "This literature was only partly inspired by reaction to the Arab Conquest; rather, it arose from a general situation of bitter division and rivalry both within the Christian Church itself and between branches of the church and the various outside groups, especially the Jews." Essential in this context is G. W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 1990 (repr. Michigan 1999), especially the chapters "The Syrian Tradition", 29ff., and "Hellenism and Islam", 71ff. Many interesting hints in Averil Cameron - L. Conrad (eds.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, 1. *Problems in the Literary Source Material* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 1), Princeton 1992.

Especially Amorion,[3] the birthplace of Michael II (820-829), founder of the dynasty which pursued the second stage of Iconoclasm, was a centre of Jewish influence. Jewish communities were stretching from Amorion in the north, almost to the coast of the Mediterranean and a certain climate of opinion including Jewish elements had been developed there.[4] Whether iconoclasm had been influenced by Muslim or Jewish spirit, as polemic after its suppression tends to make plausible, is a question that cannot be answered here.[5] This introductory remark serves only to highlight the background dominating in the region in which some decisive acts of the struggle between Byzantium and the Arabs had been carried out the time in question. Probably more practical goals were out of sight under the open antagonism and the argument of the benefit of increased trade transactions

3. An outline of the history of the city, with references to all sources of documentation, may be found in K. Belke - M. Restle, *Galatien und Lykaonien* (Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4), Vienna 1984, 122-125. Concerning the archaeological evidence, cf. C. S. Lightfoot, "The Public and Domestic Architecture of a Thematic Capital: The Archaeological Evidence from Amorion", in S. Lampakis (ed.), *Ἡ Βυζαντινή Μικρὰ Ἀσία (6ος - 12ος αἰ.)*, Athens 1998, 303-320. Vassiliki Vlyssidou - Eleonora Kountoura - S. Lampakis - T. Lounghis - A. Savvides, *Η Μικρά Ασία των θεμάτων*, Athens 1998, 40 passim. On the importance of the city in earlier times, its involvement in military campaigns and development, cf. W. Brandes, *Die Städte Kleinasiens im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 56), Berlin 1989, 133ff. and passim.

4. A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade*, London 1971, 72f. Cf. S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Greek trans. Katia Galatariotou, Athens 1996, 58-60 and passim.

5. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, 61-81; cf. Talbot, *Defenders*, xiif., and the literature cited there. Sharf's views must be considered taking into account varying opinions and criticisms, expressed for instance by D. Jacoby, in his review of this book, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 66 (1973) 403-406. Concerning the Jewish involvement in the discussions about Iconoclasm and the attitude of the iconoclast emperors towards the Jews, cf. the remarks of D. Jacoby, "Les Juifs de Byzance: une communauté marginalisée", in Chryssa Maltezou (ed.), *Οἱ περιθωριακοὶ στὸ Βυζάντιο*, Athens 1993, 103-154, and especially his justified estimation in 124: "Sous Léon III, en 721-722, l'initiative impériale s'insère dans le cadre d'une politique générale visant à renforcer l'unité religieuse de Byzance: les Juifs ainsi que les membres des sectes 'dualistes' et 'judaïsantes' fortement ancrées en Asie Mineure, ont à choisir entre le baptême et l'exil". Nike-Aikaterini Koutrakou, *La propagande impériale byzantine, persuasion et réaction (VIIIe-Xe siècles)*, Athens 1994, 241, 276, 293 and passim, discusses the matter in the context of political agitation and propaganda.

between the two parties seems to be more convincing in the diplomatic communication.[6] It is perhaps not irrelevant to mention, that this region and the struggle at this front produced later the material for popular folk songs.[7]

The emperors of Amorion made up a dynasty that ruled in Constantinople for a relatively short time (820-867), divided into the reigns of its three members. This short time is however a turning point for the Byzantine relations with the Arabs and events of paramount importance occurred. Especially the conquest of Crete[8] and Sicily[9] were a major blow for the Byzantines. As J. Rosser remarks, the conquest of Crete and the subsequent assault on Sicily "marked the beginning of the end of Byzantine supremacy in the Mediterranean. Theophilus, the first emperor faced with this problem, failed to stem the Muslim advance".[10] The continuous engagement in casualties with the Arabs during this time made the eastern front important for the time in question.[11] Some of the resentment related

6. H. Kennedy, "Byzantine-Arab Diplomacy in the Near East from the Islamic Conquests to the Mid Eleventh Century", in J. Shepard - S. Franklin (eds.), *Byzantine Diplomacy* (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications 1), Aldershot 1992, 133-143, here 139.

7. Cf. generally Aikaterini Christophilopoulou, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία*, B'1. *610-867*, Thessaloniki ^{2}1993, 206f.; H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur*, Munich 1971, 53ff (Greek translation by Nike Eideneier: H.-G. Beck, *Ἱστορία τῆς βυζαντινῆς δημώδους λογοτεχνίας*, Athens 1988, 102ff.) and the concluding remarks of the present article, below nn. 95ff. Further, see N. Oikonomides, "L'épopée de Digenis et la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe et XIe siècles", *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 (1979) 375-397.

8. V. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824). A Turning Point in the Struggle Between Byzantium and Islam*, Athens 1984.

9. On the occupation of Sicily, cf. A. Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean A. D. 500-1100*, New Jersey 1951, 132-140 and passim; E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland. Das Mittelmeer unter byzantinischer und arabischer Hegemonie (650-1040)*, Berlin 1966, 70-77 and passim; J. Rosser, "Theophilus 'The Unlucky' (829 to 842): A Study of the Tragic and Brilliant Reign of Byzantium's Last Iconoclastic Emperor" (Ph. D., Rutgers University, New Jersey), Ann Arbor 1972, 177ff. (cited henceforth as Rosser, "Theophilus"); A. Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily*, Edinburgh 1975.

10. Rosser, "Theophilus", 192. Cf. idem, "Theophilus (829-842): Popular Sovereign, Hated Persecutor", *Βυζαντιακὰ* 3 (1983) 39-56, here 40, 44, 50 and n. 23, 54, n. 82 (cited henceforth as Rosser, "Popular Sovereign").

11. A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, 1. *La dynastie d'Amorium (820-867)*, Brussels 1935 (repr. 1959).

with the reign of the caliph al-Mu'tasim (833-842), whose counter-part was the emperor Theophilus, was displayed in this front.

II

In an overall appraisal, the emperor Theophilus and his reign are considered as rather unimportant and the emperor himself is regarded as an ordinary politician and average military leader.[12] His religious policy marked the last stage of the second period of iconoclasm and only his building activities and his sensible personal intervention in the field of conducting justice and protecting the weak people against the magnates are reflected positively in the historiography. The attitude of the Amorian emperors towards iconoclasm was not uniform and it is stressed that for Theophilus the iconoclastic policy was the "cornerstone" of his internal policy, compared with the moderate engagement of his father in the ecclesiastic controversy.[13] It is in this sense surprising, as H.-G. Beck properly states, that in a later satire this not orthodox emperor is portrayed in a positive way, which probably reflects the liberal spirit of that time (12th century).[14] The

12. Christophilopoulou, *Ἱστορία*, 203: "'Η κατάστασις εἰς τὴν Μεσόγειον, ἔνθα διεκυβεύετο ἡ ελευθερία τῆς ναυσιπλοΐας, δὲν φαίνεται νὰ ἀπησχόλησεν ἰδιαιτέρως τὸν ἡγεμόνα, τουλάχιστον στρατιωτικῶς"; W. E. Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest (471-843). An Interpretation*, Amsterdam 1981, 273: "None of the Amorian emperors distinguished themselves as generals". Regarding Theophilus, Theophanes Continuatus (ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1838), 135, 10-11, states that the designation "Unlucky" (cf. Rosser, "Theophilus") has been given the emperor, because he was always defeated in war ("*ἐκ τοῦ ἀεί πως ἡττᾶσθαι κατὰ πόλεμον*"). Athina Kolia-Dermitzaki, *Ὁ βυζαντινὸς "ἱερὸς πόλεμος"*, Athens 1991, 206f., rightly stresses that this was a misuse of negative elements for the needs of propaganda, defaming the iconoclast emperors, which is reproduced in later literary sources.

13. Rosser, "Theophilus", 64; cf. Vassiliki Vlyssidou "L'empereur Théophile 'chérissant les nations' et ses relations avec la classe supérieure de la société byzantine", in *Οἱ σκοτεινοὶ αἰῶνες τοῦ Βυζαντίου (7ος - 9ος αιώνας)*, Athens 2001, 443-453, here 443 and n. 2.

14. H.-G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend*, Munich 1978 (Greek trans. by D. Kourtovik: H.-G. Beck, *Ἡ βυζαντινὴ χιλιετία*, Athens 1990), 131: "Neuerdings will man in ihm (sc. Theodoros Prodromos) auch den Verfasser der Satire 'Timarion' sehen. Wie immer es damit bestellt ist, sie gehört ins 12. Jahrhundert, Denkmal einer merkwürdigen Liberalität, in dem ein alter Kaiser (Theophilos) zelebriert wird, der nach allen Grundsätzen der Orthodoxie gar nicht gefeiert werden dürfte" (Greek trans. 179f.). Cf. Rosser, "Theophilus", 63f.; idem, "Popular Sovereign", 40. Regarding the satire *Timarion* and its impact for the study of the social and economic history of Byzantium, see Angeliki Laiou, "Händler und Kaufleute auf dem Jahresmarkt", in G.

emperor is generally regarded as cultured and clever and his reign is recorded as a time of intellectual animation.[15] Especially his attitude towards the conspirators, who murdered the emperor Leo V and paved the way to the Amorian dynasty, has been reworked in the sources, thus making a balanced political decision of "cynical exercise in propaganda look like an act of idealism".[16]

Especially in the period of its formation and in the middle ages of its existence Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome, pursued consistently in its foreign relations patterns and methods to achieve the expansion and the establishment of the state, following the Roman experience[17] and skillfully

Prinzing - D. Simon (eds.), *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, Munich 1990, 53-70. This satirical work was composed c. 1110: E. Th. Tsolakes, "Τιμαρίων. Μια νέα ανάγνωση", in *Μνήμη Σταμάτη Καρατζά*, Thessaloniki 1990, 109-117.

15. This time is introduced by Christophilopoulou, *Ἱστορία*, 201ff., as "'Η εποχη των πνευματικων αναζητήσεων". Rosser, "Popular Sovereign", 39 and n. 11: "His reign became in fact 'un renouveau d'activités artistiques'", quoting A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantine: Dossier archéologique*, Paris 1957, 169.

16. Theoph. Cont., 85, 1-4: "*λόγω μὲν οὖν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔμπυρος ἐραστὴς καλεῖσθαι βουλόμενος καὶ νόμων εἶναι φύλαξ πολιτικῶν ἀκριβής· τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ ἔξωθεν ἑαυτὸν τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων διατηρῶν, ὡς ἂν μή τις κατ' αὐτοῦ τι νεανιεύσηται, ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνατο*". Cf. Ioannes Skylitzes (ed. I. Thurn, *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum* [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 5], Berlin - New York 1973), 49, 83-88, with slightly different wording. W. T. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival 780-842*, Stanford 1988, 272 and n. 376, 433; Rosser, "Popular Sovereign", 40, 44 and the remark: "Theophilus' great reputation in this regard, a reputation which lasted for centuries", with reference to Ioannes Zonaras (ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, Bonn 1897), 361 (50 and n. 27); A. Markopoulos, "The Rehabilitation of the Emperor Theophilos", in Leslie Brubaker (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive? Papers from the Thirtieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, Aldershot 1998, 37-49, here 40 and n. 14: "The image of a just Theophilos crops up in all the historical sources written in the tenth century as well as later"; Koutrakou, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 63, concerning the typified presentation of the emperor, protector of the law; to the point cf. the old study by Ch. Diehl, "La légende de l'empereur Théophile", *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov* 4 (1931) 33-37. As Vlyssidou, "Théophile", 445 and n. 12, properly commends, the typical characteristics of the emperor protector of the weak people and the orphans is skilfully reworked in version C of the acts of the forty-two martyrs of Amorion, which was redacted by Michael Syncellus, and those qualities are attributed to the emperor's prominent subjects.

17. Useful information and constructive discussion of various aspects in this respect in E. Chryssos - A. Schwarcz (eds.), *Das Reich und die Barbaren* (Veröffentlichungen

administrating the possibilities, given first of all by the new missionary element, that created the Christianisation of the Empire.[18] In this context voluntary or by force christianised foreigners, mainly in tribal groups, are often used to strengthen the defence of the frontiers, some times even against their previous follow believers. Calculations concerning the establishment of a new population mixture and a new balance in different regions are the dominating motive for the decisions of the central government.[19] If we consider the policy of Theophilus towards the Khurramites upon this background, it seems to be rather a marginal incident; however, it deserves some remarks, since it follows traditional principles and could be envisaged as a piece of standard foreign policy, even if it was after all not successful.

III

The Khurramite policy of the Emperor Theophilus (829-842) has been discussed by some authors, especially in relation with the revolt of Theophobus and the Persian troops, as well as regarding the confusion of information in the sources related with Theophobus and Manuel.[20] Hratch

des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 29), Vienna - Cologne 1989; W. Pohl (ed.), *Kingdoms of the Empire. The Integration of Barbarians in Late Antiquity*, Leiden - New York - Köln 1997; L. Webster - M. Brown (eds.), *The Transformation of the Roman World A.D. 400-900*, London 1997. Cf. further the contributions in the collective volume *Byzantine Diplomacy* (cited in n. 6 above).

18. As a general introduction to this complex issue for the respective time, cf. H.-G. Beck, "Christliche Mission und politische Propaganda im byzantinischen Reich", in *La conversione al Cristianesimo nell'Europa dell'alto Medioevo* (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo 14), Spoleto 1967, 649-674; I. Engelhardt, *Mission und Politik in Byzanz. Ein Beitrag zur Strukturanalyse byzantinischer Mission zur Zeit Justins und Justinians* (Miscellanea Byzantina Monachensia 19), Munich 1974; Judith Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom*, Princeton 1987. See further E. Eickhoff, *Macht und Sendung*, Stuttgart 1981; G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le "césaropapisme" byzantin*, Paris 1996.

19. Concerning the various population transfers and their implications in the Byzantine period, the studies of P. Charanis, collected in *Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire*, London 1972, may be of interest. An exhaustive study of the matter, based on all relative sources' information, is made by H. Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen zwischen der Balkanhalbinsel und Kleinasien vom Ende des 6. bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts* (Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 59), Berlin 1993.

20. H. Grégoire, "Manuel et Théophobe ou la concurrence de deux monastères", *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 183-204; idem, "Études sur le neuvième siècle. Un singulier

Bartikian recently dealt with some information concerning the Khurramites in the Armenian sources.[21] This population group, which belonged to a religious sect at the same time, seems to play a very important role in Byzantine-Arab relations, during the last years of Theophilus' reign and information from later Arabic sources is extremely valuable for the study of these events.[22]

Elements of the Khurramite sect were disseminated in the regions of Azerbaijan and the western parts of Iran. The most important sites of their action were the fortress Badd in Azerbaijan and Dschibal south-east from Azerbaijan, at the region of Hamadan and Ispahan. The leaders referred to for the time in question were Babek and Nasir respectively.[23] This last group, under the leadership of Nasir, after his conversion to Christianity, was involved in the belligerence between Byzantium and the Caliphate during Theophilus' reign. The time of their refuge to Byzantium, their number as well as their role as military unit and part of war actions are going to be discussed below.

Their faith was characterised by Mazdakit and social rebel elements.[24] The last aspect related the sect in some sources with communist-like notions.[25] Their name, al-Muhammira, is translated by A. Vasiliev, as those with the red clothing, diversifying in this way from other sects. Babek, the

revenant: Manuel le Magister dans ses rôles posthumes", *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 520-524; idem, "Manuel et Théophobe et l'ambassade de Jean le Grammairien", in Vasiliev, *op. cit.* (above. n. 11), 413-417; Rosser, "Theophilus", 195ff.; idem, "Theophilus' Khurramite Policy and Its Finale: The Revolt of Theophobus' Persian Troops in 838", *Βυζαντινά* 6 (1974) 263-271 (cited henceforth as Rosser, "Khurramite Policy"); M. Rekaya, "Mise au point sur Théophobe et l'alliance de Babek avec Théophile (833/34-839/40)", *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 43-67. A thorough discussion by J. C. Cheynet, "Théophile, Théophobe et les Perses", in *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Μικρὰ Ἀσία* (above, n. 3), 39-50.

21. H. Bartikian, "Οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ Χουρραμίτες καὶ ἡ Ἀρμενία", *Σύμμεικτα* 9 (1994): *Μνήμη Δ. Α. Ζακυθηνοῦ*, Μέρος Α', 115ff.

22. Concerning the Arab sources, cf. Rekaya, "Théophobe", passim; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, passim. A thorough investigation of all relevant sources and discussion of the problems arising from their discrepancies by Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 93ff., 118f., 293f. Cf. further the references to the Armenian sources in the article of Bartikian, *op. cit.* (n. 21).

23. Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 93f. and especially n. 311, with all relevant literature.

24. To this point Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 93, 118; Bartikian, *op. cit.* (n. 21), 115.

25. Michael the Syrian, ed. and trans. J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, Paris 1899-1910 (repr. Brussels 1963), iii, 50: "Les Khourdanayê étainent des brigands, païens de religion"; "Ils étaient Mages

leader, and his adherents were referred to as "al-Khurrami"and "al-Khurramiya", denoting the clear and illuminated.[26] The name of this people in the Syrian language (Khurdanaye) could be an irritating transliteration for "Kurds", as it has been already proposed.[27]

A number of the Khurramites, Persian[28] rebel population elements, left their territory after an unsuccessful confrontation with the Arab troops and they were received by the Byzantines during the reign of the emperor Theophilus. Regarding these events, our sources are in a sense confusing. The time of their escape to Byzantium, the numbers of the refugees, who formed later Byzantine military units, their role in military actions in the last years of Theophilus' reign and the picture overall are varying in the Greek and Arab sources as well. Nasir, their leader, and his conversion to Christianity as well as his activities during this period are part of the Byzantine Arab relations of this time and they provided the material for narrations, in some cases legendary, in the literary sources dealing with these events of the 9th century. The legendary character of the information about Nasir/Theophobus is prevailing in the confusing narrations and the discrepancies, especially of the Greek sources, concerning his career and death.[29]

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dans leur culte". Cf. A. Lesmüller-Werner, *Byzanz am Vorabend neuer Grösse. Überwindung des Bilderstreites und der innenpolitischen Schwäche (813-886). Die Vier Bücher des Ioseph Genesios, übers., eingeleitet und erklärt* (Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber 18), Vienna 1989, 156: "Theophobos, der Nasr der arabischen Quellen, ein Kurde oder Perser, war einer der Anführer der aufständischen Khurramiten, einer islamisch-kommunistischen Sekte, in Dschibal, dem einstigen Medien". Their relation with Mazdakit believes is refuted by some authors and they are supposed to represent purely elements deriving from Islamic tradition: D. S. Margoliouth, "Khurramiya", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* ², 4, Leiden 1978, 1031f.

26. Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 92f., n. 1: "clair, lumineux".

27. J. B. Bury, *A History of the Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I (A. D. 802-867)*, London 1912, 252, n. 2, cited by Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 94, n. 311.

28. On the ethnic composition of the refugee-group, cf. Bartikian, *op. cit.* (n. 21), 117 and n. 6; Ditten, *Verschiebunge*, 94 and n. 311. At the region of the Khurramite rebellion, close to Ispahan, the population was Persian, Arab and Kurdish. On the wrong identification of the Khurramites with Turks, cf. the rejection and the literature cited by Ditten, *ibid.* and below, n. 91.

29. Cf. Cheynet, "Théophile", 39: "Théophobe, vrai personnage romanesque, a enflammé l'imagination des historiens modernes, mais avait déjà donné naissance à des récits légendaires dès le IXe siècle". Cf. Rosser, "Popular Sovereign", 39: "...mysterious

The rebellion of the Khurramites in Azerbaijan started most probably about two decades before Theophilus accession to the throne and al-Ṭabarī dates its beginning even earlier in 807/808.[30] It seems that this rebellion was a serious threat for the rule of al-Ma'mun (813-833) at about 830, a time in which possibly a contact between the leader of the rebels, Babek, and the Byzantines took place. A disputed Byzantine attack against Sozopetra in 830 stimulated eventually a Muslim attack in this front, although al-Ma'mun was under serious pressure in other fronts and a rebellion in Egypt had not yet been crushed.[31] This Byzantine attack against Sozopetra as the incentive for al-Ma'mun's expedition of this year is based mainly on the information recorded by Michael the Syrian. However, Michael's chronology is quite confused and there are many reasons to reject this notice.[32] Moreover, it is disputed whether Khurramites were part of the Byzantine troops in this doubtful expedition against Sozopetra, since it seems quite likely that Nasir and his companions took refuge to Byzantium later. The casualties with the Caliphate and the defeat of the Khurrammites, which resulted to their flee to Byzantium was quite probably conducted in 833. W. Treadgold dates their military catastrophe precisely to the 25th of December.[33] Their presence in Byzantium and their participation in the Byzantine army as a military unit cannot be earlier than the winter of 833/834. Accordingly, the participation of Persian troops in the attack against Sozopetra, eventually launched in 830, is probably wrong.[34]

Theophobus-Nasir". On this issue, cf. the remarks in following and the footnotes 73ff. On the identification of Nasir with Theophobus cf. Grégoire, "Concurrence" (above, n. 20).

30. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1165 and 1235 in the edition of de Goeje, cited by Ditten, *Verschiebunge*, 94, n. 312. Mich. Syr. iii, 55 (ed. Chabot) assesses the whole duration of the Khurramite rebellion until its final crush to fourteen years.

31. In the general presentation of this period of the early Abbasid Caliphate, H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates. The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to Eleventh Century*, London - New York 1986, 156, makes only a short remark to these troubles for the time of al-Ma'mun. A more extensive reference is made to the campaign conducted by al-Mu'tasīm's leading general, al-Afshīn, which forced Babek to surrender, ibid., 166.

32. Mich. Syr. iii, 73-74 (ed. Chabot); cf. Rosser, "Theophilus", 143f.

33. Treadgold, *Revival*, 282. Mich. Syr. iii, 52 (ed. Chabot), wrongly asserts that Babek was the Khurramite leader who flee to Byzantium and joint the emperor Theophilus.

34. It was suggested by Bury, *op. cit.* (above, n. 27), 254, 472f., as cited by Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 95 and n. 319. The same chronological reconstruction by Cheynet, "Théophile", 40.

The number of the refugees as well as their role in the Byzantine army is another point, that has been fiercely discussed in the scientific research, especially due to different, extremely varying statements of the sources. It seems after all quite justified to accept that a relatively small Khurramite unit – perhaps equal to the usual size of the Byzantine tagmata –[35] had been embodied in the Byzantine army, immediately after their defeat and their flee to Byzantium. This group was under the leadership of the Khurramite Nasir/Theophobus,[36] who was married with a sister of the Empress[37] after his conversion and given the dignity of a patrician. Those Persians established an elite unit, engaged in the confrontations with the Caliphate during the reign of Theophilus.

The number provided for the refugees in the various redactions of Symeon's *Chronicle* is 14.000 people.[38] It seems quite likely that only a part of this population was capable for military service and further it is

35. For the time in question, see J. F. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians. An Administrative, Institutional and Social Survey of Opsikion and Tagmata, c. 580-900* (ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑ 3), Bonn 1984, with reference to the Khurramites, 630f.; cf. R.-J. Lilie, "Araber und Themen. Zum Einfluss der arabischen Expansion auf die byzantinische Militärorganisation", in Averil Cameron (ed.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, 3. *States, Resources and Armies*, Princeton 1995, 425ff. For the later period, see H.-J. Kühn, Die byzantinische Armee im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Organisation der Tagmata (Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, Ergänzungsband 2), Vienna 1991, 47ff.; J. F. Haldon, "The organisation and support of the expeditionary force: Manpower and logistics in the Middle Byzantine period", in K. Tsiknakis (ed.), *Τὸ ἐμπόλεμο Βυζάντιο (9ος - 12ος αιώνας)*, Athens 1997, 111-151. Cf. his remark, concerning the size of the tagmata, *ibid.*, 135: "There is some debate as to how numerous these were in the eighth and ninth centuries" and the literature cited there.

36. The identification of Nasir with Theophobus has been suggested by Grégoire (cf. n. 20) and, although it has never been formally attested, should not be disputed, as Cheynet, "Théophile", 40, remarks. Cf. Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 96 and n. 334.

37. Cheynet, "Théophile", 140, speaks of a sister of the empress (: "...obtint lamain d'une princesse impériale, soer de l'impératrice Théodora..."). The Greek sources are confusing at this point as well; the marriage of Theophobus with a sister of the emperor is recorded too. Cf. Vlyssidou, "Théophile", 451 and n. 41, with reference to all relevant sources. According to Ditten, *Verschiebunge*, 97: "...zuteil geworden sei: die Würde eines Patrikios und die Hand einer Tochter des Kaisers Theophilos"; cf. 102. Ditten's statement for a marriage with a daughter of the emperor seems not to be reflected in the Greek sources and should be probably wrong.

38. Ps.-Symeon (ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1838) 625, 23-24, 626, 1-2: "*Τῷ β' τούτου ἔτει*

reasonable to suppose that perhaps only a part capitulated compact under its leader and formed a "Persian" military unit. It is disputed whether the figures provided reflect only men or whether women and children were included too.[39] The information that some of those Persians were married with Byzantine women, upon an imperial edict, makes it quite probable, that the overwhelming majority, at least of the first refugee-group, were male.[40] An imperial initiative to couple foreigners with Byzantine women, as suggested for this case, seems to be a general policy for the integration of various groups in the Byzantine society and this information is not always related specifically with the Khurramites.[41] The remarks of Vassiliki Vlyssidou provide an interesting insight in this policy of Theophilus and make the hypothesis probable, that perhaps the establishment of a new social class, devoted to the emperor's orders and policies was envisaged through those encouraged marriages.[42]

Symeon's *Chronicle* and its statements should be the most reliable among the Greek sources, reporting on these events.[43] Other sources provide figures ranging between 7.000 and 30.0000 (Genesios,[44] Theophanes

προσέφυγε Θεόφοβος ὁ Πέρσης 'Ρωμαίοις, ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ μετὰ Περσῶν χιλιάδας ιδ', οὓς διένειμεν ἐν τοῖς θέμασι κατασκηνώσας καὶ τούρμας ἀποκαταστήσας".

39. Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 99, n. 353: "Mit Frauen und Kindern?". Treadgold, *Revival*, 439, n. 400 and passim, bases his argumentation on the assumption that the group consisted only of men and that they were collectively converted to Christianity, due to the authority of their leader over his subjects.

40. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, 1. *565-1025*, Munich - Berlin 1924, 422. On the date of the edict, cf. Vlyssidou, "Théophile", 451f. and n. 45. Cf. further the remarks, concerning the forty-two martyrs of Amorion, nn. 95ff. below. Rosser, "Popular Sovereign", 39 considers this policy as a proof for Theophilus' love for foreigners.

41. Cf. the commentary by L. F. Sherry on the Life of St. Athanasia of Aegina and her forced marriage, linked with the imperial edict of the same year, Alice-Mary Talbot (ed.), *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, Washington 1996, 143, n. 22; Vlyssidou, "Théophile", 451 and n. 44.

42. Vlyssidou, "Théophile", 444f. and 452f.

43. Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 99: "Nach den Angaben der im allgemeinen sonst glaubwürdigeren Symeon-Chronik". Cf. Christophilopoulou, *Ἱστορία*, 205, n. 2: "Νηφαλιωτέρα καὶ πλέον ἀξιόπιστος εἶναι ἡ λιτὴ ἀφήγησις τῶν χρονογράφων Ψ'Συμεὼν μαγίστρου καὶ Συνεχιστοῦ Γεωργίου Μοναχοῦ, ἣν καὶ ἀκολουθῶ."

44. Ioseph Genesius, ed. A. Lesmüller-Werner - I. Thurn, *Iosephi Genesii regum libri quattuor* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 14), Berlin 1978, 3, 6, 41.

Continuatus[45]), related however with Babek, not with those, who actually fled earlier to Byzantium and were taken in military service, after the defeat of 833. The same year with Nasir's defeat and flee to Byzantium it is assumed that Babek's Khurramites suffered a serious collapse from the Abbasid troops. However, Babek himself continued the revolt until its final oppression in 837 and his capture and execution.[46] This development complies with the fact, that the actions of the two main Khurramite groups were not coordinated or conducted in common.[47] A similar confusion concerning the time and the number of the refuges is reflected in the Armenian sources.[48]

It is an open question, whether the acceptance of the first refugee-group and their conversion to Christianity functioned as an "open invitation", as W. Treadgold suggests, for other Khurramite waves, to search Byzantine territory.[49] This assumption goes hand-in-hand with the great number of Persians, he asserts, to be received in the Byzantine army during these years. The total grew to 30.000, according to his calculations, with the addition of 16.000, after Babek's surrender, in 837.[50] This picture conforms with his general opinion, that "the men of the Persian troops strengthened almost every vulnerable point of the frontier",[51] after their dispersion in various thematic armies.

Persian units are attested to be part of Theophilus' army, along with Bulgarians and Slavs in 837, as the emperor started again a campaign against the Caliphate on the eastern front.[52] Whether a regular alliance between

45. Theoph. Cont. 112, 10: "*ἐν χιλιάσιν ἑπτά*"; 125, 5-6: "*καὶ ηὔξησαν ὡς εἰς τρεῖς μυριάδας ἐληλακέναι*".

46. Rosser, "Khurramite Policy", 65f.; idem, "Theophilus", 195ff. Cf. the discussion by Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 97ff.; Cheynet, "Théophile", 47f.

47. Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 95f.

48. Bartikian, *op. cit.* (n. 21).

49. Treadgold, *Revival*, 292.

50. *Ibid.*, 439 (n. 400) and passim.

51. W. T. Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, Stanford 1997, 443.

52. An outline of the events, with references to sources documentation and literature in F. Hild - M. Restle, *Kappadokien* (Tabula Imperii Byzantini 2), Vienna 1981, 78f.; cf. Belke - Restle, *Galatien* , 65f.; K. Belke, *Paphlagonien und Honorias* (Tabula Imperii Byzantini 9), Vienna 1996, 75f. Haldon, *op. cit.* (n. 35), 131, traces, on the basis of literary information and the documentation in military handbooks, the routes followed at the imperial expeditions in the region.

Byzantines and Khurramites existed remains disputed, as well as whether contacts had been established already earlier, from the time of the eventual previous Byzantine attack against Sozopetra.[53]

Perhaps Theophilus started his campaign after his success in Sicily and considered the situation positive, due to difficulties confronted by the Arabs. Most probably, Babek's appeal reached him after the beginning of the operations and was not the immediate incentive for the military operations.[54] The Persian troops participated in the attack against Sozopetra, launched in March 837, according to al-Ṭabarī[55] and the other operations of this year and their revolt hereafter is the most significant moment of their involvement in the confrontations between Theophilus and al-Mu'tasim. The counter attack of al-Mu'tasim resulted in the next year in the defeat of the Byzantines in the battle of Dazimon,[56] as well as the occupation and the disaster of Amorion (August 15th, 838).[57]

The atrocities by both sides, by the Byzantines in the capture and pillage of Sozopetra and by the Arabs in the occupation of Amorion, mark the records of the sources documentation. Both sites were often involved in the friction of this front and had a political significance, related the second with the ruling dynasty of Byzantium and the first being allegedly the birth place of the caliph. The association of the later with the Arab ruler, as his place of origin, seems to be rather a reflection of later sources, establishing a parallel for the activities in both sides.[58] Further, Amorion was the greatest and most important city of Anatolia during the 7th-9th centuries and the fortifications discovered in the excavations justify the imposing description in literary sources. Among others, a number of coins found in the region, document the

53. Above, n. 34.

54. Rekaya, "Théophobe", 55: "Il ne nous paraît pas aussi évident que la campagne de Théophile se soit faite à l'instigation de Babek"; cf. Belke - Restle, *Galatien* , 65 and n. 172.

55. Rekaya, "Théophobe", 56; Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 291ff.

56. Dazmana, close to Turhal south of Amaseia, Hild - Restle, *Kappadokien* , 79, 88, 234. On the involvement of Theophobus and the Persians, cf. Cheynet, "Théophile", 42ff.; Belke, *Paphlagonien*, 75f., 162.

57. This precise date is given by Cheynet, "Théophile", 45. Cf. Belke - Restle, *Galatien*, 66, the remark that the capital of the Anatolian Theme was captured after a twelve-day siege, most probably on the 12th or 13th of August.

58. Belke, *Paphlagonien*, 65, n. 78; Belke - Restle, *Galatien*, 286f. (Sozopetra). Cf. the sources cited there: Theoph. Cont. 125; Skyl. 74.

importance of this front city.[59]

As Athina Kolia-Dermitzaki argues, for a period of almost thirty years, between 816 and 845, there is no evidence for an exchange of war prisoners between Arabs and Byzantines. Accordingly, it seems likely that some of the captives from those battles were released in the next exchange recorded in 845.[60]

In the battle of Dazimon the emperor was separated from the main part of his army and was surrounded by the Persian elite-troop of Theophobus, numbering 2.000 soldiers.[61] The emperor ran a risk for his life and a possible hostage in this situation and was rescued, eventually by Theophobus, the leader of the Persians.[62] The story of the emperor's rescue is repeated three times by Genesius and Theophilus is stated to be rescued twice by Manuel, one being that at the battle of Dazimon. Other Greek sources reproduce the story as well. Those rescue-narrations were, as it has been convincingly argued,[63] a reproduction of impressive, legendary narrations for the needs of hagiography. This was the last military act of the Persian unit in this campaign, after that they revolted and a scattering of the Persians in different regions is reported. The question for the scholars is whether the Persians prior to this revolt were established

59. Cf. the literature cited above, n. 3. Further, cf. C. S. Lightfoot *et al.*, "The Amorium Project: The 1997 Study Season", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999) 333-349; C. S. Lightfoot, "The Survival of Cities in Byzantine Anatolia. The Case of Amorion", *Byzantion* 68 (1998) 56-71 and especially 59, n. 15, with reference to Ibn-Khurdadhbeh, ed. M. J. de Goje, vi 77-80. An analysis and tables presenting the number of coins discovered in chronological listing are included in this article as well, *ibid.*, 70f.

60. Especially with regard to captives' numbers, see Athina Kolia-Dermitzaki, "Some Remarks on the Fate of the Prisoners of War in Byzantium (9th-10th Centuries)", in G. Cipollone (ed.), *La liberazione dei "captivi" tra Cristianità e Islam, oltre la crociata e il gihad: Tolleranza e servizio umanitario* (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 46), Città del Vaticano 2000, 583-620, here 587ff., 600f.

61. Theoph. Cont. 24, 116ff.; Gen. 3, 14, 48; Cheynet, "Théophile", 43.

62. Gen. 3, 14, 48 (Dazimon); cf. 3, 9, 43, 3, 11, 46. To the point, the commentary by Lesmüller-Werner, *Byzanz*, 156ff.

63. Cf. Grégoire, "Concurrence", and idem, "Études" (above, n. 20). On the Byzantine monastery named after Manuel and the hagiographic tradition related with it, cf. R. Janin, *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. Les églises et les monastères* (La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantine I/3), Paris ²1969, 320f.; Lesmüller-Werner, *Byzanz*, 157. The version asserting the emperor's rescue by Manuel is followed, for instance, by Treadgold, *History*, 441; this opinion is shared by Belke, *Paphlagonien*, 75 and n. 136.

compact in a region, the time of their first scattering to different units, as well as the places they were distributed to.

W. Treadgold took up the matter of the number and the role of the Persian units enlisted in the Byzantine army in some of his works[64] and his conclusion, based mainly on Genesius and Theophanes Continuatus, is that 30.000 Persians, the earlier who followed Nasir/Theophobus, increased later with supporters of Babek, who fled gradually and in masse after his final defeat and capture, formed the Persian manpower of the Byzantine army in the second half of the 9th century. This is the greater figure provided by our sources, it seems to be exaggerated and for some scholars it is rather unlikely.[65] Considerations and remarks put forward in the various works consulted for this article make the following reconstruction quite probable. The core of the Persian army, the unit under Nasir's leadership, which participated in the attack against Sozopetra and the following battle at Dazimon and comprised 2.000 soldiers, gives a minimum reasonable size.[66] This minimum number is recorded by Theophanes Continuatus as the size of the Persian units transferred to every Byzantine theme. This regular distribution to all administrative units seems rather unlikely.[67]

After the battle at Dazimon and his rescue, the emperor Theophilus is recorded in the Greek sources to have left for Constantinople "on a pretext".[68] The rumor that the emperor had been slain and the pending danger for the proclamation of a new emperor, was enough reason for this

64. Treadgold, *Revival*, 282f., 298-302, 312-319; idem, *The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (East European Monographs 121, Byzantine Series 2), New York 1982, 70-76 and passim; idem, *Byzantium and Its Army*, Stanford 1995, 66-69. The author resumes his conclusions in his *History*, 439-445.

65. Cheynet, "Théophile", 40: "...ce nombre paraît invraisemblable".

66. The number is compared by Cheynet, "Théophile", 41, with the size of the Paulicians, which was close to the regular size of the Byzantine tagmata (cf. n. 35) and could bring about serious concern for the Emperor Basileios himself.

67. Theoph. Cont. 125, 7-8. Cf. Belke, *Paphlagonien*, 75f. and n. 140; Cheynet, "Théophile", 43: "...une répartition aussi équilibrèe n'avait pas de précédent". Cf. further the criticism for Treadgold's calculations, expressed by R.-J. Lilie, "Die byzantinischen Staatsfinanzen im 8./9. Jahrhundert und die *στρατιωτικὰ κτήματα*", *Byzantinoslavica* 48 (1987) 49-55, especially 50, concerning the Khurramites.

68. Gen. 3, 5, 40. Cf. further the general statement in Theoph. Cont. 87, 7-8: "*ἥττη-τό τε ἀεὶ καὶ οὐ κατὰ βασιλέα ὑπέστρεφεν*", which should be placed in the overwhelming polemic colouring the later sources (above n. 12).

hasting return to the capital.[69] The Persian unit of Theophobus was left at the front in order to establish a guard at Sinope. The Persians started in the region of Sinope and Amastris[70] a revolt and Theophobus was possibly proclaimed emperor. However, Genesius' statement that Theophobus was proclaimed emperor seems not to mean that Theophobus usurped the Byzantine emperor title. The relevant passage is regarded to suggest a Persian ruler.[71] This revolt was conducted as the Muslim counter-attack was going on. The time of its finale is not clearly defined in the sources information.

The interpretation of later Armenian sources elaborated by H. Bartikian make credible a Khurramite establishment in the Armenian theme as well as a participation in a Byzantine expedition against Armenia during the reign of Theophilus.[72] This region could be a second front for the Khurramite military action in alliance with the Byzantines. In any case, this Khurramite military involvement of Theophobus' unit should be prior to its participation in the expedition against Sozopetra of 837 and its revolt.

The execution of Theophobus should be dated to the end of 839 and this limit marks perhaps the end of the Persian revolt as well.[73] This end of the adventure is confirmed among others by the Syrian sources and the Muslim general Bashir is reported to have sent the head of the executed Khurramite leader to the Caliph al-Mu'tasim in Baghdad.[74] Nasir's execution produced, especially in the Greek sources, legendary narrations: His head was allegedly passed over by the caliph to the Byzantine emperor, a version which was probably elaborated later, with the purpose to embellish the

69. Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 154-160; Mich. Syr. iii, 96 (ed. Chabot); Bar Hebraeus, trans. E. A. W. Budge, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj, the Son of Aaron the Hebrew Physician, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus, being the first Part of his Political History of the World*, London 1932, 136: "Then THEOPHILA set in motion the army of AMURIN, and he commanded and its gates were shut and he left it as on the edge of a razor; and he went to CONSTANTINOPLE and killed the nobles who wished to appoint a king"; Kaegi, *Unrest*, 253, n. 39.

70. Belke, *Paphlagonien*, 161ff. and passim.

71. Gen. 40, 28-29: "*βασιλέα κηρύττουσιν*". Cf. Lesmüller-Werner, Byzanz, 157f.; Theoph. Cont. 124, 17-18: "*...οἱ Πέρσαι συσχόντες αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν Σινώπην βασιλέα καὶ ἄκοντα ἀνεκήρυξαν*". Cf. Skyl. (below, n. 84).

72. Bartikian, *op. cit.* (n. 21), passim.

73. On the date and the varying information in other sources, cf. Cheynet, "Théophile", 45ff.

74. Mich. Syr. iii, 96; Bar Hebraeus 138.

emperor's iconoclastic portrayal.[75] A narrative considers Theophobus to be still alive and this was the proper basis for a monastery claiming to be his foundation.[76] An execution in the imperial palace in Constantinople is reported as well.[77] It is not surprising, that among all those inaccuracies of the Greek sources, the version reporting Theophobus to dwell in Byzantium from his birth is included as well.[78]

The Persian troops were dispersed in different regions of the Byzantine Empire after their revolt. The places of their establishment are disputed,[79] an issue related with the different opinions expressed concerning their size as well. A segregation directly after their conversion to Christianity is not sounding, although it is some times implied in the scholarly works cited here.[80] It is quite probable that the Persians were in military service in the regions of Sinope and Amastris and they were gathered under their leader Nasir in order to follow Theophilus' campaign. Their number was relatively small, compared with the greater, exaggerated figures provided by some sources. A segregation of the Persians prior to this expedition is not documented and it seems likely that they were transferred to different regions after their upheaval. The reasons for this disorder and the testimony for their later presence are worthy to be scrutinized below.

After the Arab victory and the disaster of Amorion, negotiations started for making peace and establishing a new order in the frontier. The most common contents of similar deals were the exchange of hostages and the return of the refugees.[81] The Byzantines were eager to get their refugees and rebels returned as well. The Magister Manuel,[82] a person involved in the events discussed here, fled to the Abbasids and the embassy of John the Grammarian was send to Baghdad with the purpose to achieve his return.[83]

75. Gen. III 7-8, 42f.; Theoph. Cont. 136.

76. Janin, *op. cit.* (n. 63), 245f.

77. Theoph. Cont. 135f.; Ps.-Sym. 646; Cf. Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 100 and n. 360, with all relevant sources.

78. For instance, Skyl. 65ff.

79. Cf. Treadgold, *Revival*, 282ff. and the references above in nn. 49, 64; Cheynet, "Théophile", 43f.; Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 105ff.

80. An immediate dispersion of the Persians is implied by Treadgold, *Revival*, 282ff. This seems to be asserted in Ps.-Symeon's statement as well (above, n. 38).

81. Kolia-Dermitzaki, *op. cit.* (n. 60).

82. Cf. above, n. 63.

83. J. Rosser, "John the Grammarian's Embassy to Baghdad and the Recall of

This perspective was for Nasir and his companions evident, even before starting the negotiations, and could be a possible reason for anxiety. Irregularities in their payment were a usual reason for unrest and disorder among the soldiers. Against this background, Johannes Skylitzes, who reports this reason for the Persian revolt, does not necessarily reflect a trustworthy source, on the ground of the upheaval.[84] In this case, the emperor could reasonably reject the Arab demand for the return of the refugees, since they had revolted and he could not exert any control over them.

After the crush of the revolt and Nasir's capture and execution, the Persians who remained in Byzantine territory and in military service were transferred to different regions. It is rather unlikely to believe that they were transplanted in almost every thematic unit and that they were an extremely significant element for the defence of the frontier.[85] The testimonies for the later Persian presence and activities are very scarce: some literary references to Persians or Persarmenians and seals bearing possible witness of Persian Khurramites.[86]

The accounts for the Turks of Vardar manifest an interesting case in this context and should be discussed in some detail. The issue has been raised by some scholars and the conclusions of the relevant discussions are resumed here. The reconstruction of the events and the interpretation of the sources material provided by H. Ditten lays on the basis of the presentation.[87]

Manuel", *Byzantinoslavica* 37 (1976) 168-71; idem, "Theophilus", 145ff.; cf. Grégoire, "Manuel et Théophobe et l'ambassade de Jean le Grammairien", in Vasiliev, *op. cit.* (above, n. 11), 413-417. On diplomatic contacts between Byzantines and other nations, cf. generally: E. Chryssos, "Η βυζαντινὴ διπλωματία ὡς μέσο ἐπικοινωνίας", in N. G. Moschonas (ed.), *Ἡ ἐπικοινωνία στὸ Βυζάντιο*, Athens 1993, 399-407.

84. Skyl. 74, 7-9: "*ἀλλ' οἱ Πέρσαι, διὰ τὸ σφῶν σιτηρέσιον ὑστερήσαν ὄντες περιαλγεῖς, ἐν Σινώπῃ συσχόντες αὐτὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἄκοντα ἀνεκήρυξαν*".

85. This is implied by Treadgold, *History* (above, n. 51). The author follows the records of Genesius and Theophanes Continuatus, suggesting a total of fifteen themes as places for the establishment of Persian troops. Cf. Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 105.

86. The Greek sources discussed here, Ps.-Sym. 625, Theoph. Cont. 125 and Gen. 3, 6, 41 refer explicitly to presence of "*τοῦρμαι Περσῶν*" still in the 10th century in various Byzantine themes. For seals bearing witness to Persian presence, cf. W. Seibt, *Byzantinoslavica* 36/2 (1975) 212, in his review of the edition of *Byzantine Lead Seals* by G. Zacos and A. Veglery (nr. 2526), and N. Seibt - W. Seibt, "Die sphragistischen Quellen zum Thema Nikopolis", in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνοῦς Συμποσίου γιὰ τὴ Νικόπολη*, Preveza 1985, nr. 5, with a possible "Theophobus, strategos of Nikopolis", in the first half of the 10th century. To the point, Cheynet, "Théophile", 48f. and nn.43, 45.

87. Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 106ff. Here references to all relevant literature.

Although Persians should have not been transferred to the theme of Thessalonike,[88] a reference to *Τοῦρκοι Βαρδαριῶται* in a later treatise wrongly ascribed to the Kuropalates George Kedrinos, could be regarded as implying Persians.[89] This could be perhaps the case, since in the same work it is stressed that this ethnic group pronounced the emperor and addressed him their long live salutes, according to the imperial table protocol lists, in their native tongue (*Περσιστί*).[90] Ecclesiastic bishops lists mention a religious head for those "Vardarian Turks" in the realm of the Metropolitan of Thessalonike already since the tenth century and the existence of this bishopric is attested in the later centuries as well. It is well known and it has been properly argued, that the attribute "Persians" for the Turks represents an archaism, introduced from the eleventh century onwards, as the seldzukish Turks established themselves in Azerbaijan and were expanded in Asia Minor.[91] Some authors considered the "Vardarian Turks" as being part of the converted Khurramites from Theophilus' times, established in the region close to Jannitsa. Their establishment there has been conceived as a measure for protecting Thessalonike against Bulgarian and Slav attacks. Others proposed a different ethnic composition for this group and considered them as Hungarians or perhaps a mixed group from various ethnic elements. Despite Kodinos' testimony, a direct relationship between those "Vardarian Turks" and the Persians of Theophobus is after all strongly disputed, and it seems that it is rather unlikely.[92]

88. This is the opinion of Treadgold. He argues that Persians were established only in the European themes of Macedonia and Thrace and not in Thessalonike, although it was founded earlier, since 836 or even 823, as Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 106, remarks.

89. Ps.-Kodinos, 181, 1-9, 181, 22 - 182, 10 (ed. J. Verpeaux, Paris 1966, cited by Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 106, n. 405).

90. Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 108 and n. 427.

91. Cf. above, n. 28. Further, G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*. I: *Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker*. II: *Sprachreste der Türkvölker in der byzantinischen Quellen* (Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 10, 11), Berlin ²1958, here II, 322. On the Turkish expansion in the 11th century, see W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert* (Byzantina Vindobonensia 14), Vienna 1981.

92. Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 110: "Eine persische Herkunft der Vardarioten ist also (trotzt des Zeugnisses des Pseudo-Kodinos) und insbesondere ein Zusammenhang mit Theophobos' einstigen Churramiten zumindest zweifelhaft, wenn auch nicht unwahrscheinlich".

IV

Theophilus' alliance with the Persian Khurramites was not an unusual act in the Byzantine strategy towards its prominent external opponents of that time, the Arabs. Various ethnic groups revolting in frontier regions and annoying the enemy were recruited and associated in common front. Religious persuasion and conversion were usual instruments in this play of foreign policy exploiting means from a wide-ranged arsenal, economic and commercial elements being often apparently involved. Internal doctrinal rivalries were regularly not weighty in recruiting allies against the foreign enemies. Monophysite emperors could join with partners not sharing their religious preferences in common cause against external threats or in pursuing common interests. It is accordingly not important to ask and it cannot perhaps be answered whether Theophilus gained with the Khurramites partisans for iconoclasm.[93] After all, their conversion did not prove to be strong enough to prevent a revolt against their patron. Against this background the question of Jewish influence upon iconoclasm is irrelevant as well. This influence has been exaggerated in the later Byzantine sources and it is out of question that the Isaurian along with the Amorian emperors followed the same line towards the Jews, which was primarily reflecting their will to impose internal order and uniformity in state and religious affairs. Population transfer, which is another crucial feature of Theophilus' Khurramite policy, provides similarities with policies pursued by the Byzantines before Theophilus and in later times as well. This was a standard policy to neutralize potential threats by compact national or deviating religious groups, especially in the front regions, to establish new balances and utilize them in the military service for the imperial defence. A comparable case could be that of the Mardaites.[94]

The reception of the past and its elaboration in the later sources served usually the goals of the imperial propaganda and provided some times the material for legendary narrations. Immediately related with the events discussed here, hagiography provided another interesting narration, the martyrdom of the forty-two Amorian Saints. They were the prominent captives from the Anatolian capital, who were executed in Samara, the 6th of March 846.[95] The text has been studied by Athina Kolia-Dermitzaki, in

93. On Theophobus' possible religious orientation and preferences, cf. Rosser, "Popular Sovereign", 43, 53 and n. 73.

94. Ditten, *Verschiebungen*, 138ff. and passim.

95. Edition of their Acts by V. Vasiljevskji - P. Nikitin, *Mémoires de l'Académie*

relation with the question of the adoration of military saints by the Orthodox Church as well as with respect to the legitimization of "holy war" and the conduct of religious war by the Byzantines.[96] The description reveals the typical features of the hagiographic genre. It is however important to stress, that the emperor Theophilus is qualified as great emperor and courageous and effectual man.[97] This in contrast with the hints already mentioned, which were the literary tradition laid down in the Macedonian sources, colouring a negative portrait for the emperor. H.-G. Beck in his History of Byzantine Folk Literature dealt with the reflections of the disastrous for the Byzantines capture and pillage of Amorion in 838 in a summary form. He considers the way the martyrs of Amorion defend their faith before the caliph as a record of heroic portrayal, which echoes in preliminary form qualities developed later in the literary tradition of the folk songs.[98]

The activities of the Amorian emperors have been discussed in relation with the thematic structure of the region as well.[99] This issue is not irrelevant for the considerations put forward in this paper, since the dispersion of the Khurramites in various thematic armies is related with the administrative and military structure of the empire. Extremely important is for this research the information derived from an Arab account, illustrating the situation of this time.[100] Michael III carried on the Arab-Byzantine encounter in the

Impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg. VIIIe série, classe historico-philologique VII, 2, St.-Petersbourg 1905. For further sources information and literature, cf. Kolia-Dermitzaki, *op. cit.* (n. 12); Belke - Restle, *Galatien*, 123. Vlyssidou et. al., *Μικρά Ασία* (cited above, n. 3), 45.

96. Kolia- Dermitzaki, *op. cit.* (n. 12), especially 206, n. 50, 367f. and passim.

97. "*μέγιστος αὐτοκράτωρ*" and "*ἀνὴρ γενναῖος τὰ πάντα καὶ δραστήριος*", Beck, *Volksliteratur*, 52. These references are included in the second version of the Martyrdom. Cf. Markopoulos, "Rehabilitation", 41 and n. 20. A. Kolia-Dermitzaki remarks that those hints are the unique source material, which approves the military activity of the Emperor Theophilus (*op. cit.*, above n. 12, 206, n. 50); Vlyssidou, "Théophile", 444 and nn. 7f.; Koutrakou, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 384, with reference to version D of the Martyrdom and the relevant description of Theophilus' campaign against Sozopetra.

98. Beck, *Volksliteratur*, 53: "Damit ist das Martyrium natürlich noch kein Epos, aber es enthält doch unverkennbar epische Züge, die es nicht unwahrscheinlich machen, dass die Vorgänge auch im Lied ihre Spuren hinterlassen haben und dass die Verfasser des Martyriums diesen Spuren gefolgt sind".

99. T. C. Lounghis, "The Evaluation of Thematic Encounters in Asia Minor and the Reign of Michael II", in *Βυζαντινή Μικρά Ἀσία*, 51-58.

100. F. Winkelmann, "Probleme der Informationen des al-Garmi über die byzanti-

region and his engagement in the glorious battle of Bishop's Meadow in 863 was the outlet of the struggle in this front and possibly the material for a popular song. This battle is regarded at the same time as the starting point of a Byzantine offensive against the Arabs, which reached its peak by the second half of the 10th century.[101] A rehabilitation for the last Amorian emperor Michael III (842-867) is supposed by some scholars to be reflected in a famous popular song, so-called "the song of Armouris" (*Τοῦ Ἀρμούρη*). A possible identification of the popular hero with the emperor has been suggested. In this case the song should serve the rehabilitation of the emperor, who was dishonoured by the Macedonian propaganda. Religious opposition was in his person irrelevant, but the defamation aimed at the justification of his murder and the affirmation of the authority of the new rulers. It seems rather unlikely that the emperor himself could be the hero of the song. However, it reflects quite probably the events related with Amorion in the ninth century and its origin could be close to this date.[102] Moreover the successful military confrontation of 863 has been deemed to be manifested in the most famous song of the epic literature, the epic of Digenes Akritas,[103] and traced its mark in the ceremonial of the Byzantine court.[104] Another

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nischen Provinzen", *Byzantinoslavica* 43 (1982) 18-29 (repr. in idem, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze. Studien zu Konstantin dem Grossen und zur byzantinischen Kirchengeschichte*, Birmingham 1993, no. VIII [ed. by J. F. Haldon and W. Brandes]). Cf. Belke, *Paphlagonien*, 76f.

101. G. Huxley, "The Emperor Michael III and the Battle at Bishop's Meadow (A.D. 863)", *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 16 (1975) 443-450, cited by Lounghis, *op. cit* (n. 99), 55 and n. 20. Cf. Hild - Restle, *Kappadokien* , 80ff.; Belke - Restle, *Galatien*, 67; Belke, *Paphlagonien*, 77f. and n. 148.

102. Beck, *Volksliteratur*, 53ff. Here references to further literature concerning the various opinions on the origin, the date and the identification of the hero.

103. *Ibid.*, 48ff.; cf. Christophilopoulou, *Ἱστορία*, 216f. It is important to stress here that the scholar celebrated by this volume contributed to a comparative study of Byzantine epic literature with similar Arabic literary products as well: V. Christides, "Arabic Influence on the Akritic Cycle", *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 94-109; idem, "Byzantium and the Arabs: Some Thoughts on the Spirit of Reconciliation and Cooperation", in A. Holweg (ed.), *Byzanz und seine Nachbarn* (Südosteuropa-Jahrbuch 26), Munich 1996, 131-141, especially 136ff. (The Arab-Byzantine epic romance of reconciliation).

104. *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, II 69: *Ἄκτα ἐπὶ μεγιστάνῳ ἀμηρᾷ ἐν πολέμῳ ἡττηθέντι καὶ ἀναιρεθέντι* (ed. I. Reiske, Bonn 1829, 332f.; ed. A. Vogt, Paris 1939, 136; cf. the commentary, vol. II, 145f.). Cf. G. Veloudis, "Das Armurieslied und Omar-al-Aqta", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 58 (1965) 313-319.

popular song, recorded in more versions as well, has been considered as related possibly with Amorion. In this case the situation is rather confused and different localizations for the fortress mentioned (*Τὸ κάστρον τῆς Ὠριᾶς*) have been proposed.[105]

In conclusion, we could remark that Byzantine - Arab relations despite the unremitting struggle, were not only "a chronicle of warfare, exceptional conditions of receptivity did exist, which explain the successful passage of Hellenism to Islam".[106] This is a side not apparent with the first glance and the cultural exchanges between the two civilizations are usually neglected. Scholarship which aids to discover this aspect of the Byzantine - Arab relations is extremely valuable and Professor Vassilios Christides is a pioneer in the objective evaluation of the contacts between those two different peoples and their traditions.

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105. Beck, *Volksliteratur*, 55f., with further literature.

106. I. Shahîd, "Byzantium and the Islamic World", in Angeliki Laiou - H. Maguire (eds.), *Byzantium. A World Civilization*, Washington 1992, 49-69, here 50.

Yaacov Lev

SHOPPING LIST OF A FATIMID VIZIER (1120'S) AND THE MEDITERRANEAN TRADE OF EGYPT

I

At the heart of my discussion is the shopping list of the vizier Ma'mūn al-Bata'ihi, in office between 1122 and 1126 (Dhu 'l-Qa'da 515-Ramaḍān 519). The history of his vizierate was written by his son, the historian Ibn al-Ma'mūn (d. 1192), being apparently part of a larger work dealing with the history of Egypt and entitled *Akhbār Miṣr*. It is known only through quotations by later authorities, especially Maqrīzi (1364-1442), the great historian of Fatimid Egypt. Maqrīzi in his biography of Ma'mūn al-Bata'ihi reproduced the annual shopping list of the vizier, who ordered the buying of diversified goods and materials for stocking the treasuries kept at the royal palace in Cairo.[1]

A great deal of the purchases was done in Alexandria where many textiles were bought from North African and Rum merchants. The term Rum occurs twice in the text, meaning once European, more precisely Italian towns, but the other references are more ambiguous.[2] It might refer either to Byzantine or to European/Italian merchants. However,

1. For Ma'mūn al-Batai'hi's biography, see Maqrīzi, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā' al-Kabīr*, (ed) M. Yalaoui, Beirut, 1991, VI, 478-500, for the shopping list, see 488-9. For the historian Ibn al-Ma'mūn, see A. F. Sayyid's introduction to the edition of his *Akhbār Miṣr*, Cairo, 1983.

2. See Maqrīzi, op. cit. (*supra* n. 1) 489, line 2 in contrast to the one on 488, line 11.

the list of textiles bought in Alexandria is well understood. It included the following items: *siqlatun* (i.e. bright, scarlet, heavy fabrics), 'Attabi fabrics (i.e. silk fabrics produced in Baghdad). These could have been of one color without pattern or of different colors.[3] Also included were Sicilian sprinkled kerchiefs, some embroidered with gold threads and some made of silk; cloaks embroidered with gold threads and others made of silk, some embroidered and some plain;[4] broad shawls embroidered with gold, made of silk, raw and unbleached;[5] raw textiles (or garments) made in the Tunisian town of Susa as well as first quality Iskandarani textiles and Iskandarani robes.[6] The quantities that were bought are specified as follow: 18.000 Iskandarani *maqta'* (meaning robes or pieces of cloth), 1,000 kerchiefs and 2,500 sari-like cloths.[7]

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3. *Siqlatun* (siglaton) and 'Attabi fabrics were famous in the Islamic medieval world and are widely attested to in literary sources. See, for example, R. B. Serjeant, Islamic Textiles, Beirut, 1972, index under *siklatun*. For the description of the 'Attabi silks produced in Baghdad, see 28-9. Both types of fabrics were much traded and appear frequently in the documents of the Cairo Geniza. See, for example, S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, Berkeley, 1967-1993, I, 419, n.43, IV, 323, and VI, cumulative indices (prepared by S. D. Goitein and Paula Sanders), under *siglaton*. For the terms *Muscat* and *mulligan*, see Sergeant, 144, 202; *Med. Soc.*, I, 419, n.4, IV, n.30, 411, n.238.

4. *Manādil* (sing. *mandil* or *mindil*) meaning kerchiefs, handkerchiefs, or napkins were very popular textiles widely mentioned in the literary sources and frequently traded. See, Serjeant, index under *mandil*; *Med. Soc.*, op. cit. (*supra* n. 3) VI, under *mandil*. The prices of kerchiefs made of sumptuous fabrics such as Dabiqi linen could reach 8 *dinars* a piece. See, *Med. Soc.*, IV, 323. Byzantine kerchiefs were also extremely popular in the Middle East. See, *Med. Soc.*, VI, under mantilla. For treatment of the completed garment by sprinkling and beating, see *Med. Soc.*, IV, 178. Cloaks (*milhafa* pl. *malāhif*), like *manādil*, were one of the most common textile items in the middle ages. See, Serjeant, 28, 42; *Med. Soc.*, VI, under *cloak*. Cloaks and kerchiefs are frequently mentioned in the trousseau lists from the Geniza. See, Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, *Karaite Marriage Documents from the Cairo Geniza. Legal Tradition and Community Life in Mediaeval Egypt and Palestine*, Leiden, 1998, 224-5.

5. For shawls used to cover the head and shoulders or even as a prayer mantel, see *Med. Soc.*, II, 529, n.76, IV, 196. For *kham*, meaning raw unbleached textiles, see Serjeant, index; *Med. Soc.*, IV, 178.

6. Iskandarani textiles used as cloths and blankets are widely attested to in the Geniza and the literary sources. See, Serjeant, 148, 150, 158; Med. Soc., IV, 167.

7. The term *maqta'* (pl. *maqāti'*) had a wide range of meanings. See, Serjeant, index; *Med. Soc.*, IV, 7, 409, n. 222. For references to *futa*, sari-like cloth, in the literary sources, see R. P. A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détailé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, Amsterdam, 1845, rep. Beirut, n.d., 339-43; Serjeant, index. For references in the Geniza, see *Med. Soc.*, VI, index. One has to take into account that a term designating a certain garment could have a wide range of meanings, depending on region and period. For example, *futa*, in Iraq and the Maghreb meant different things. See, Y. Stillman. "Libas", *E.I.*[2], 741, 746.

Other textiles, products and materials were purchased from Muslim Spain, the town of al-Mahdiyya in Tunisia, Sicily, the Italian towns and Ascalon, the last Fatimid port in Palestine. The list of goods procured from Muslim Spain included: crystals, super fine Spanish silk, *maqta'* fabrics, rugs, lead, iron and nails, and wax.[8] *Maqta'* fabrics and Susa textiles as well as olive oil, soap, and almonds were bought in al-Mahdīyya while Sicily supplied tables and leather tablecloths.[9] The most important agricultural product of Sicily, hard grain, is missing from this list. It was massively traded in the Mediterranean and Muslim Tunisia as well as the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem were dependent on it. However, Egypt was more than self-sufficient in grain. Egyptian imports from Italy included: pure silver, precious stones, Atlas brocades (*dībāj*), timber, pitch, anchors, hemp, copper and lead. The imports from Ascalon were of a very different character, involving textiles and agricultural products. The textiles were many and diversified, including inscribed and plain 'Attabi cloths, siglaton and damask, Aleppo silk, half garments of low and high quality, some raw and some fulled, and leather.[10] Agricultural imports included olive-oil, *qalutat*, *qarasia'* and sumac.[11]

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8. For silk in Muslim Spain and the richness of Spain in metals, see O. R. Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain*, Cambridge 1994, 173-4, 185-9.

9. For tables, or large trays, *mawā'id* (sing. *ma'ida*), and leather tablecloths *sufur* (sing. *sufra*), see Sarjeant, 55; *Med. Soc.*, IV, 144; J. Sadan, *Le mobilier au proche orient mediéval*, Leiden 1976. For exports of hides as well as lamb and rabbit skins from Sicily, see D. Mattthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, Cambridge 1993, 73.

10. The term *shiqqa* or *shuqqa* (pl. *shiqāq*) in the meaning of cloth or a piece of clothing is attested to in ninth century documentary sources. See, Y. Ragib, *Marchands d'étoffes du Fayyoum au IIIe/IXe siècle*, Cairo, n.d., III, 4, 1,4, 9, 1,6, 15, 11,7, 12-3, 23, 1,12, 31, 1,1. Dībāj brocades are sometimes referred to in the Geniza as Rūmi or Maghribi, meaning of European origin (Italian or Byzantine) or made in Muslim North Africa or Spain. See, Olszowy-Schlanger, op. cit. (supra n. 3), 234.

11. Tanner's-sumach, *summaq*, is mentioned in Arabic geographical literature and in Geniza documents as a plant (bot. *Rhus coriaria*) typical of *jund Filastīn*. For a wider discussion and references to sources, see Z. Amar, "Tanner's Sumac in Ancient

II

Most of the textiles, products and materials mentioned on the list of the vizier are known from Jewish sources, the documents of the Cairo Geniza. The congruity between these two types of sources verifies the authenticity of the list and says something about the reliability of Maqrīzi's descriptions of the Fatimid state. We as his readers are sometimes baffled by his selection of the material and the gaps in his accounts. However, it seems that what he did reproduce he reproduced well, although reliability concerning material culture and trade of the Fatimid period is not necessarily indicative also of issues of political and religious character. For example, Fatimid policy toward the Seljuks and the possible attempts of cooperation with the First Crusade against them are passed in silence by Maqrīzi. This, however, might reflect more his sources than his editorial choices. In any case, the ability to corroborate fully the list is an important point in the overall evaluation of Maqrīzi's material concerning the Fatimid period.

This list reflects the immense importance of textiles in medieval life and economy. Beside the obvious use as cloths, textiles acquired symbolic value, indicating social rank, occupation, and religious identity. Ceremonial robes (*khila'*) were bestowed on cadis, governors, market supervisors, chiefs of police, generals and other people in the service of the state upon assuming office. High quality and expensive textiles had intrinsic economic value, being bought and accumulated as a form of investment. The production of textiles was widely spread, involving the main urban centers, provincial towns as well as villages. The trade in textiles was truly international, everywhere there was a demand for

Time", *Israel - People and Land*, 7-8 (1990-1993) 191-8. Bladder senna (bot. *Colutea arborescens*) was used in medicine as a laxative material. See, A. Issa Bey, *Dictionnaire des noms des plantes*, Cairo 1930, 54, n. 14. The meaning of *qarasia'* is more ambiguous and opento several interpretations. It could mean a small plum very easily confused with a cherry. The possibility for such a confusion is pointed out by the great Jewish sage Maimonides (1138-1204). It could also mean a prune (bot. *Prunus cerasia*) typical of the Ascalon region. This possibility is born out by the writings of al-Sawidi (1203-1291). See, *Kitāb al-Simāt fi Asma al-Nabāt*, MS Paris, BN 3004, ff, 54b, 210a. All of the information brought in this note has been kindly supplied by Zohar Amar, my colleague at Bar Ilan University.

costly and less costly foreign items.[12] The textiles on the list were traded by merchants engaged in the Mediterranean trade of the high middle ages (tenth-thirteenth centuries). The Fatimid state was a great consumer of garments and textiles, which were stored in a special treasury known as *khizānat al-kiswa*. According to their rank, people in the service of the state received garments in summer and winter. These included also distributions to family members. A special section of this treasury, known as the internal *khizānat al-kiswa*, functioned as the ruler's private wardrobe. According to the renowned historian of Aleppo, Ibn Abi Tayy (1179-1233), the yearly expense of the state on garments reached 600,0000 *dinars*.[13] Textiles were stored to answer also other requirements of the state. For example, siglaton and damask were used for the covering of walls and columns. This was a standard form of decoration common to churches, synagogues, the Fatimid royal palace and private homes. Precious fabrics were used as a decorative and symbolic device to create an ambiance of opulence and sanctity.

Other materials bought and stored by the Fatimid authorities reflected the naval needs of the state. Egypt was poor in timber suitable for the construction of warships. The events of summer 996 exemplify the chronic shortage in timber as well as the Fatimid trade with Italy. In that summer warships built at the arsenal in Cairo for a naval campaign in Syria caught fire, and for the construction of a new fleet public buildings such as the mint and Tulunid mosque had to be stripped of their wood. Trees suitable for shipbuilding were grown in Upper Egypt and this forest was under government control, which did not prevent its depletion by the twelfth-century.[14] The imports of timber by Italian traders

12. The research literature on textiles in the Muslim medieval world is truly vast. The following studies are the most pertinent to the aspects mentioned here. See, M. Lombrad, *Les textiles dans le monde musulman VIIe-XIIe siècle*, Paris 1978, esp. 190-9; Y. K. Stillman, "Costume as Cultural Statement: The Esthetics, Economics, and Politics of Islamic Dress", in *The Jews of Medieval Islam. Community, Society, and Identity*, (ed) D. Frank, Leiden 1995, 127-45; Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, IV, 150-200.

13. Maqrīzi, *Khitāt*, II, 255-64. See also A. F. Sayyid's edition of Maqrizi's text published under the title Musawwadat Kitāb Mawā'iẓ wa-'l-I'tibār fi Dhikr al-Khiṭāt wa-'l-Āthār, London 1995, 154-8. The Fatimid practices were not unique to them. If anything, these were imitation of those of the Abbasids. For dresses and wardrobes of the Abbasids, see M. M. Ahsan, *Social Life Under the Abbasids*, London 1979, 51-5.

14. For the events of 996, see Maqrīzi, *Khitāt*, III, 317-9, quoting the account of a contemporary historian, Musabbihi (977-1029). For forests in Upper Egypt, see Y. Lev, *Saladin in Egypt*, (Leiden, 1999), 167.

to Fatimid Egypt are well attested to by the Geniza documents. The Fatimids stored naval supplies such as weapons, iron and pitch. They also stored hemp and flax used for the production of sails. Weapons and possibly sails too were made by Frankish prisoners of war, meaning Crusaders captured in wars fought in Palestine or on naval raids against Christian shipping in the Eastern Mediterranean. These practices were continued by the Ayyubids, who following Hittin, held more Frankish prisoners than the Fatimids ever had.[15] Also the flow of materials such as lead, wax, and silver to Egypt has been noted by S. D. Goitein. The list confirms Goitein's conclusions and amplifies some findings on the Mediterranean trade derived from the Geniza documents. The dependence of Egypt on the Italians for naval supplies was never before so clearly demonstrated.

III

Another point that should be considered is how state imports were actually carried out. The Fatimid authorities exercised the right of first purchase from foreign merchants in Alexandria, dictating the prices. Large scale purchases of goods and materials by the state was an old Fatimid practice. It involved annual purchases of grain to the value of 100,000 *dinars* and since the 1050's of honey, wood, soap and iron. The technical term for these purchases was *matjar*, but its range of meaning was wider, including Office of Commerce.[16] Although this term is not referred to in the text, the list reflects the spirit of this policy and its implementation. However, the text refers in somewhat vague terms to active acquisition of goods at the markets of Muslim Spain, al-Mahdīyya and Ascalon. How goods were bought from Sicily and the Italians towns is not specified, and the wording concerning this question is general and

15. For a Fatimid document found in the Geniza, see S. M. Stern, "An Original Document from the Fatimid Chancery Concerning Italian Merchants", reprinted in his *Coins and Documents from Medieval Middle East*, London 1986.

For Fatimid storage of naval supplies, see Ibn Tuwayr, *Nuzhāt al-Muqlatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn,* (ed) A. F. Sayyid, Beirut 1992, 141-2. For the cultivation of hemp and production of sails, see Lombard, 105-7, 199-202.

16. The relevant text describing the eleventh century Fatimid practice of *matja* had been recently translated into French by Ayman Fu'ad Sayyid. See *La capitale d l'Egypte jusqu'à l'époque fatimide*, Stuttgart 1998, 618-9.

imprecise. The issue at stake is a serious one: Did Muslim traders go to Italy and Byzantium on trade trips ? The Jewish traders refrained from doing so. Goitein, for example, refers only to two letters of Jewish merchants who visited European ports. The first is from the eleventh century and concerns business in Amalfi. The other is from the thirteenth century and tells about a business trip to Genoa and Marseilles. Nonetheless, it seems that Jewish merchants in eleventh century Sicily went to Italian ports with little hesitation. A letter from 1060 tells about an unsuccessful business trip from Palermo to *bilād al-rūm*. The merchant in question sustained losses while trying to sell pepper and ginger there.[17] Whatever are the conclusions regarding the Jewish merchants of the Geniza period, the wording of the text under examination suggests that the goods of Sicily and Italy were not bought there but elsewhere, possibly in Alexandria. It could be that Muslim traders refrained from visiting Christian ports in the Mediterranean.[18]

The last point concerns the impact of the wars of the Crusades on the Mediterranean trade of Egypt. Clearly the commerce with Italy continued in spite of the role of the Italian towns in the conquest of the Syrian-Palestinian littoral in the first decade of the twelfth century. Tyre, held by Banu 'Aqil until 1124, is not mentioned in the list but Ascalon is. There can be little doubt that goods available in Ascalon such as silk from Aleppo were carried by land trade routes through territories controlled by the Crusaders. Ascalon served as a processing center for the agricultural products of its hinterland such as olives.

17. S. D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, Princeton 1973, 8, 42-5, 57-61; M. Ben-Sasson, *The Jews of Sicily 825-1068. Documents and Sources*, Jerusalem 1991, 71, ll, 5-9, 72, ll, 16-7 (Arabic text); 80, ll, 5-9, 81, ll, 16-7 (Hebrew translation).

18. Regarding the text, attention should be given to the following differences in the wording of the account: "He (al-Ma'mūn) sent to al-Mahdīyya to buy....:, in contrast to: "it was bought/imported from Sicily....". See *Muqaffa'*, VI, 488, the four last lines. It can be argued that such differences in a late text are insignificant. However, given the reliability of Maqrīzi's text we must assume that he copied from earlier sources and his wording reflects that of his sources. Thus the differences in the wording are suggestive and significant.

Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala

AN ARABIC GOSPEL OF CYPRIOT ORIGIN: *CODEX ARABICUS SINAITICUS* 110

The Christian Arabic MSS copied in Cyprus must have been numerous. An illustrative case is the still unpublished Codex found in the Register no. 306 in Cambridge. This text, already known in Europe at least since the 13th century, is an Arabic version of the *Kitāb al-Majāll* found in Cyprus, specifically in Nicosia (*Niqusiya madīnat Qubrus*), as is explained in the brief preface of the MS published by Margaret Dunlop Gibson.[1]

Alongside this MS sample of apocryphal literature, the Biblical translations must also have been numerous, especially the ones deriving from the New Testament. A valuable example of this is the present *Codex Arabicus Sinaiticus* 110 which we attempt to discuss here.

This codex contains an interesting version of the four Gospels belonging to the year 1286. This Arab translation, which organises the readings according to the Greek liturgical cycle, consists of 235 folia and is written on paper, measuring 220 x 135 ms.[2] Out of the 41 extant copies of Gospels and Lectionaries (plus the commentary number 145) in the documents of St. Catherine Monastery (*Mār Kātirīna*) registered until the present,[3] 25 belong to the 13th century:

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1. Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica. Kitab al-Magall or the Book of the Rolls* (Studia Sinaitica 8), London 1901. The fragment has been reproduced and translated in the work of A. Battista some years ago and in B. Bagatti, *La Caverna dei Tesori. Texto arabo con traduzione italiana e commento*, Jerusalem 1979, 66 (text), 92 (translation). An annotated translation of this work by J. P. Monferrer-Sala, *Apocrifos arabes cristianos*, Madrid 2003, 61-119.

2. See A. S. Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscrips of Mount Sinai*, Baltimore 1955, 5, no. 110 = M. Kamil, *Catalogue of all Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai*, Wiesbaden 1970, 15, no. 102.

3. Concordances of the Arabic manuscripts of St Katherine of Mount Sinai and their

76 (Gospels)
82 (Gospels 1287)
84 (Gospels 1262)
90 (Gospels 1283)
91 (Gospels 1289, incomplete)
94 (Gospels 1262)
95 (Gospels 1277, incomplete)
96 (Lectionary)
103 (Epistles 1257)
104 (Gospels 1281)
112 (Gospels 1259, incomplete)
114 (Lectionary 1239)
118 (Lectionary 1254)
164 (Lectionary 1238)
121 (Lectionary 1243)
122 (Lectionary 1288)
124 (Lectionary)
125 (Lectionary 1250)
127 (Lectionary 1294)
129 (Lectionary 1245)
132 (Lectionary 1282)
137 (Lectionary 1214)
140 (Lectionary)
145 (Commentary 1276)
150 (Lectionary 1232).

As we can see, those 25 codices amount to almost 61% of the total amount of Evangelical material registered so far, the rest of MS samples excepted. This obviously reveals the importance of the translating and copying task carried out by the Melkite South-Palestinians throughout that century.

This wealth of data proves to be of great interest, since it allows us to do a global assessment of the main characteristics and the specific translating

correspondent in Cairo have been done by S. Khalil, *Tables de concordances des manuscripts arabe-chrétiens du Caire et de Sinai*, Louvain 1986. Samir Khalil has personally informed me that he is in the last stages of the preparation of a new catalogue of the Sinaitic manuscripts, with additional material. For an overall assessment of the manuscript material (Arabic and Turkish codices only) of St. Catherine, cf. A. S. Atiya, "The Arabic and Turkish Scrolls of Mount Sinai", in M. Black - G. Fohrer (eds.), *In Memoriam Paul Kahle*, Berlin 1968, 10-16.

technique employed by this orthodox community who, since the 7th century, used the Arabic language as the means of communication.

Moreover, this extensive activity displayed in the *scriptoria* demands a new vision of it as a kind of revitalisation and even of support of the writing production developed in the monastic centres of the Arabic Christianity. It goes without saying that this consideration does not accord with the vision of "decadence", beginning in the 12th century, postulated by Vailhé for the *lavra* of Mār Sābā.[4] This opinion was years later supported by Meinardus, when he pointed to the limited number of names of some of his *hegoumenoi* as evidence of the "rapid situation of decline" of this monastic centre.[5]

Thanks to Griffith, we know the origins of the literary production in Arabic by South-Palestinian Christians. It is in this place that the first extant translations of the Gospels were produced in the late 9th century.[6] The version of the Gospels in the *Codex Arabicus Sinaiticus* 110 comes from a Greek original source, as is evident from the fact that the readings of the MS follow the *cursus* of the Greek liturgical cycle, in addition to further evidence provided by tests conducted on translations.

The practice of translating Greek texts into Arabic (the study of which is still a *desideratum*)[7] becomes common already in the 9th century,[8] where Greek has pride of place[9] (in fact sharing this privilege with Syriac and

4. Cf. S. Vailhe, "Le Monastere de Saint-Sabas", *Echos d'Orient* 3 (1899-1900) 168-177.

5. Cf. O. F. A. Meinardus, "Historical Notes on the Lavra of Mar Saba", *Eastern Churches* 2 (1968-69) 397.

6. Cf. S. H. Griffith, "The Monks of Palestine and the Growth of Christian Literature in Arabic", *Muslim World* 78 (1988) 1-28; idem, "Anthony David of Bagdad, Scribe and Monk of Mar Sabas: Arabic in the Monasteries of Palestine", *Church History* 58 (1989) 7-19; idem, "The Gospel in Arabic: An Inquiry into the Appearance in the First Abbasid Century", *Oriens Christianus* 69 (1985) 126-167. Most of the manuscript material we have now, including the lectionaries, appear in G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1, Città del Vaticano 1944 (repr. Modena 1996), 138-195.

7. See the global analyses, however, devoted to the translation of Greek material into Syriac done by S. P. Brock in the classical study, "Towards an History of Syriac Translation Technique", *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 221 (1983) 1-14; see also J. P. Lyon, *Syriac Gospel Translations: A Comparison of the Language and the Translation Method used in the Old Syriac, the Diatessaron and the Peshitto*, Louvain 1994, 21-40.

8. On this topic, see S. H. Griffith, "Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the 9th Century: The Example of the *Summa Theologiae Arabica*", *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 117-138.

9. See R. P. Blake, "La littérature grecque en Palestine au VIIIe siècle", *Le Museon* 78 (1965) 367-380.

Arabic), being employed as the language of the Umayyad Caliphate administration for a short period of time, and more specifically under the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (684-705), who made Arabic the new official language.[10] "Greek society" kept on living in the same big cities and even most of the merchants continue to use Greek primarily as the language of communication. Also, the use of Greek in Melkite liturgy will continue to spread until the 13th and the 14th centuries in the central towns of Syria.[11]

Therefore, even after the arrival of Muslim Arabic groups the Hellenistic (Byzantine) element does not disappear from Syria or Palestine. In this sense, the case of the Syrian parchment fragment of a Psalter found in the *Qubbat al-Ḫazna* of the Damascus Mosque is illustrative.[12] Alongside the correspondent portion of Syrian culture represented by the monks having Syriac as the mother tongue, Byzantinism is overriding everywhere in Melkite monasteries.[13]

It was in 648-649, after having built a small fleet, that Muʿāwiya sent his first naval expedition against Cyprus. The outcome of this endeavour was the fall of the capital, Constantia, and the payment of 7.200 dinars to the invader by the *urkūn* (= ἄρχων) or Byzantine governor of the island, according to al-Balādhurī's report.[14] Cyprus enjoyed a privileged status in ecclesiastic matters, since the Byzantine Cypriot church was self-governed, in contrast with the characteristic *eparchia*, and was run by the ecclesiastical authorities of the highest rank on the island.[15]

10. See D. J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam. The "Heresy of the Ishmaelites"*, Leiden 1972, 25, 45-46.

11. See Ch. Cannuyer, "Langues usuelles et litugiques des Melkites au XIIIe s.", *Oriens Christianus* 70 (1986) 114. Cf. S. H. Griffith, "Byzantium and the Christians in the World of Islam: Constantinople and the Church in the Holy Land in the Ninth Century", *Medieval Encounters* 3 (1997) 244-252.

12. See B. Violet, "Ein Zweisprachiges Psalmfragment aus Damascus", *Orientalische Litterature-Zeitung* 4 (1901) 384-403, 425-441 and 475-488; see also the phonetic analysis by R. Haddad, "La phonétique de l'arabe chrétien", in P. Canivet - J.-P. Rey-Coquais (eds.), *La Syrie de Byzance a l'Islam, VIIe-VIIIe siècles*, Damascus 1992, 159-164.

13. See the excellent broad panorama by R. P. Blake, "La littérature grecque en Palestine au VIIIe siècle", *Le Museon* 78 (1965) 367-380.

14. Cf. J. F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century. The Transformation of a Culture*, revised edition Cambridge 1997, 55, and W. E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, Cambridge 1992, 246-248, 253-254. For the political status of Cyprus from 688 till 965, see R. J. H. Jenkins, "Cyprus between Byzantium and Islam, A.D. 688-965", in idem, *Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries*, London 1970, no. XXII.

15. Cf. R. J. H. Jenkins, "Social Life in the Byzantine Empire", *The Cambridge Medieval History*, 4/2. *The Byzantine Empire. Government, Church and Civilisation*, Cambridge 1967, 78-103. On the autocephalous status of the Cypriot Byzantine Church, cf. R. Janin, "Chypre", *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Geographie Ecclesiatiques*, 12, Paris 1953, col. 794-795. For the origins of the Cypriot Church, cf. S. Vailhé, "Formation de l'Église de Chypre", *Echos d'Orient* 13 (1910) 5-10; a synthesis on the Cypriot Oxthodox archbishopric may be found in R. Janin, *Les Églises orientales et les rites orientaux*, Paris [5]1997, 139-145.

However, a new period in the history of the Palestinian church began with the fall of Jerusalem at the hands of Saladin. Despite the undying effectiveness of Frankish power in coastal zones for more than a century, their power in the interior zones had eroded, due to Muslim incursions. The Muslims were most interested in a split between Syrian and Frankish Christians.[16] However, the fighting between Greek and Latin adherents in Cyprus, as happened mostly everywhere in the Byzantine Empire, had tilted the balance in Palestinian soil.

The Maronites, who had accepted the authority of the Patriarch of Antioch in 1182, continued to be allied to the Latins. Some of them even travelled to Cyprus in order to help the latter against the Greeks. And, although the arrival in Cyprus of the majority of the lay population took place during the various Crusades, the settlement of Maronite monks in the island dates back to the 9th century.[17]

The relationship between Latin and Syrian Jacobites took place in a mood of collaboration and frienship. Melkites, Syrians, Greeks and Georgians were sympathetic to the sufferings of the Cypriots, who remained under the Frankish yoke, both in social and in religious affairs.[18] The Cyprus war, in this sense, is part of a general war in the Byzantine Empire, that

16. J. Richard, "Le pleuplement latin et syrien en Chypre au XIIIe siècle", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 7 (1979) 157-173.

17. Above all the Maronite community from Cyprus, cf. Janin, "Chypre", col. 815. For a study of the dialectic Arabic variant called "Maronite Arabic-Cypriot" (a subdialect of the "Syrian Arabic" that, though in a rapid process of decay, is still spoken in the village of Kormakiti), cf. the descriptive study (phonology and morphology) carried out by Maria Tsiapera, *A descriptive analysis of Cypriot Marionite Arabic*, The Hague - Paris 1969.

18. Cf. two examples, among others, for the first case in J. Richard, "Pairie d'Orient Latin: les quatre baronnies des royaumes de Jérusalem et de Chypre", *Revue historique de droit francais et étranger* (1950) 67-88, and idem, "L'ordonnance de décembre 1296 sur le prix du pain à Chypre", *Epeteris Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon* 1 (1967-1968) 45-51, both reprinted in idem, *Orient et Occident au Moyen Age: contacts et relations (XIIe-Xve s.)*, London 1976, nos. XV and XX. On the Latin Chypriot church from the end of the 12th to the beginning of the 14th century, see N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195-1312*, Aldershot 1997.

broke out in the year 1203 and ended in 1453, when the Turks eventually conquered Constantinople.

Thus, clashes between Greeks and Latins were frequent throughout the 12th century[19] and were the result of the establishment of a Latin kingdom in Cyprus. Certainly the Latin power meant unquestionable advantages for the Crusaders in the 13th century, given the strategic role of the island as a base of operations in the attacks launched by them against Egypt and Syria. However, when a Latin church was created, its primary goal was to begin the task of converting Orthodox Greeks to Roman Catholicism, thus forcing the Greek priests (as well as those of Syriac, Nestorian and Armenian rites) to pay obedience to the Latins.[20] This fact would eventually provoke, as we have remarked, a wave of arguments among the various Christian communities settled on the island,[21] as well as in other places.[22]

On the other hand, the connection between the Christian monasteries (Byzantine) of the oriental shores of the Mediterranean sea is understandable. Such connections became eventually a sort of Christian commonwealth in the zone that lay between the communities settled in the lands of *Dār al-islām* and those in the Byzantine domains. This circumstance, added to other complex socio-historical factors, such as the appearance of a new "ecclesiastical identity" in the Melkite area, took place

19. Cf. G. Every, "Syrian Christians in Palestine in the Early Middle Ages", *The Eastern Churches Quarterly*, 7 (1946) 371. A synthetic overview for the 12th and 13th centuries may be found in A. Ducellier, *Chretiens d'Orient et Islam au Moyen Age. VIIe-XVe siècle*, Paris 1996, 260-288.

20. On the relations between the Melkite community and the Latin church in the Holy Land, see for instance J. Pahlitzsch, "The Greek Orthodox Church in the First Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1187)", in Th. Hummel - K. Hintlian - U. Carmesund (eds.), *Patterns of the Past, Prospects for the Future. The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land*, London 1999, 195-212.

21. Cf. Elisabeth Chapin Furber, "The Kingdom of Cyprus, 1191-1291", in K. M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades, 2. The Later Crusades, 1189-1311*, Madison - Milwaukee - London 1969, 607, 623 and 623-629. On the subject of Latin domination during the 12th and 13th centuries, see also Janin, "Chypre", cols. 797-800, and idem, *Églises*, 140.

22. Cf. J. Pahlitzsch - Dorothea Weltecke, "Konflikte zwischen den nicht-lateinischen Kirchen im Königreich Jerusalem", in D. Bauer - K. Herbers - N. Jaspert (eds.), *Jerusalem im Hoch-und Spätmittelalter. Konflikte und Konflikbewältigung – Vorstellungen und Vergegenärtigungen*, Frankfurt - New York 2001, 137-142. See also the valuable information in J. Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani im Palästina der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Beiträge und Quellen zur Geschichte des griechich-orthodoxen Patriarchats von Jerusalem*, Berlin 2001, *passim*.

well into the 9th century.[23]

In fact, the persecution of the iconophiles encouraged the fleeing of many of them, mainly monks, from Constantinople and other areas of the Empire, to more secure places and especially Cyprus, according to the *Life of St. Stephen the Younger*.[24] Thus, the evidence of a connection between monasteries and hermitages in Cyprus, Sinai, Crete, Mount Athos, Mytilene and Constantinople is firmly established by the 14th century, when the Byzantine ascetic monk Gregory of Sinai travelled, in 1330, along the "route" linking the aforementioned monastic centres.[25]

Connections such as these and similar ones with Europe are still apparent right in the 13th century, as can be seen in the case of Simeon, the once bishop of St. Catherine of Sinai between 1203 and 1223, who travels to Crete and Venice in order to discuss matters relative to the *lavra*.[26]

Actually, the circumstances that the *lavra* of St. Catherine had to undergo throughout the 13th century were not easy at all. The *lavra* was destroyed on the 1st of May of the year 1212, partly as a consequence of an earthquake, and later the bishop Gabriel al-Sawbak undertook its reconstruction. Consequently, during the Crusade the *lavra* will remain under the Latin authorship of Philadelphia, which had the see in Karak.[27]

The text of the version of the Gospels of Cypriot origin we are concerned with consists of three parts. The first contains a separate folio (folio 1r) with a different script from that used in our text; the fragment that we edit and translate below (folio 1v) follows a different script to that of the work being also used.

The second part consists of the version of the Gospels proper with its correspondent indexes:

1. *Index* (folia 2r-3r) of the 68 sections (*aṣḥāḥāt*) of Matthew's Gospel, together with an "appendix" to that *index* (folio 3v).
2. Matthew's Gospel (folia 4r-56v).

23. Cf. S. H. Griffith, "Byzantium and the Christians in the World of Islam: Constantinople and the Church in the Holy Land in the Ninth Century", *Medieval Encounters* 3 (1997) 231-265.

24. Cf. D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth Eastern Europe, 500-1453*, London 1971, 173-174.

25. Cf. Obolensky, *Commonwealth.*, 301.

26. Cf. J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église Melquite du Ve au XXe siècle. Contribution à l'étude de la littérature arabe chrétienne (969-1250)*, 3/1, Louvain - Paris, 73.

27. Cf. Nasrallah, *Histoire*, 72.

3. Index of the 48 sections of Mark's Gospel (folia 57r-57v).
4. Mark's Gospel (folia 58r-91r).
5. Index of the 84 sections of Luke's Gospel (folia 91v-92v).
6. Luke's Gospel (folia 93r-148v).
7. Index of the 20 sections of John's Gospel (folio 149r).
8. John's Gospel (folia 149v-197v).
9. Epilogue of the scribe (folia197v-198r).
10. Blank (folio 198v).

Finally, the third part includes an index of lectures of the Greek liturgical cycle,[28] references and copies of evangelical lectures, together with an epilogue of the index of lectures of the cited liturgical cycle (folia 217v-218r); a complete "Sinaxarius" of the annual cycle follows (folia 219r-233r) and the manuscript ends with a series of blank sheets (folia 233v-235r).

The linguistic type ("sprachliche typus") that the translator employs is a level of language similar to "Classical Arabic", but with interferences from "Middle Arabic", which has been studied by Blau[29] exhaustively and in depth of detail. The copyist has employed the graphological type known as *nashī*, fully developed, with slightly thick lines and text with occasionally vocal character. Two types of ink are used, red for the lectures and black for the body of the text.

The paper shows marks of humidity that in folios 4r to 6r affect the inferior part of the text, thus making the reading difficult or impossible. No visible foliation is apparent in the manuscript, nor are the reclaims employed, although they do appear numbered with letters in the upper left angle of the *rectum* of the folio that closes each of the 30 quarters (the first of them incomplete) of the *Codex*.

The author of the modern numbers, using "Arabic figures", is Atiya, who placed them, though irregularly, at times in the centre and at times in the

28 On the structure of a Greek-Arabic Gospel, following a partially Byzantine framework, see G. Garitte, "Une évangeliaire grec-arabe du Xe siècle (cod. Sin. Ar. 116)", in K. Treu (ed.), *Studia Codicologica*, Berlin 1977, 207-225. An outstanding number of Arabic lectionaries following the Byzantine (Melkite), Alexandrian, Syriac and Roman rites were collected by Georg Graf in his great *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1, 185-195. A synthesis on liturgy of the Melkite Patriarchate of Jerusalem, of Antioch and the Sinai since the middle of the 10th till the 14th century may be found in J. Nasrallah, "La liturgie des Patriarchats melquites de 969 à 1300", *Oriens Christianus* 71 (1987) 156-181. On the Byzantine rite in Arab, see *Kitāb al-salāt li-isti'māl zuwī l-taqs al-bizantī*, ed. N. Idālbī, al-Dhawq (Lebanon) 1962.

upper left side of the rectum of each folio.

The name of the correspondent Evangelists lies in the centre of the upper part, over the case of the script, of the *rectum* of each folio. The symbols employed by the copyist are two: a species of Greek *phi* (φ) to mark the final of some lectures and three triangularly placed dots (∴) to mark the end of the text.

Save for a few exceptions (for instance folio 107r: 17 lines, plus two words under the line, and folio 160v: 5 lines, rest in blank), the copyist includes 17 lines per folio, with frequent outlays from the case of the script, no doubt due to the ornamental drawing of a particular consonant, or the lack of lineal space.

The manuscript includes a considerable number of *marginalia*, mainly corrections, and their exact place in the text is given here: folia 13r; 15r; 17r; 19r; 15v; 26r; 30r; 44v; 84r; 93r; 94r; 95r; 97r; 99v; 109r (correction placed at the foot); 116r; 154r; 158r (correction placed at the foot); 169r (correction placed in the upper left corner); 173v; 174r (correction placed at the foot); 175v; 179v; 180r; 184r; 185r; 190v (correction placed in the centre of upper part); 223v and 224r.

Translation

This Holy Gospel belongs to deacon Yuḥannā 'Antar, who bought it from a man from the isle of Cyprus[30] and sold it to the priest Mūsā Ni'mat al-Suryānī al-Qāri',[31] begging him not to sell it, or give it, unless to the monastery where he was to die. Let death come to him with the help of God, contemplating a monastery that belongs to the *Lavra* of Mount Sinai. The power coming from the name of the Highest and the grace of the Holy Spirit will not be for him who dares to break what is contained here nor [for him] who cuts this sheet or erases it. It was written by the humble Mark, bishop of the Monastery of Mount Sinai.

29. Cf. J. Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic. Based mainly on South-Palestinian Texts from the First Millenium*, 1-3, Louvain 1966-1967.

30. Qubrus, also rendered Kubrus. On the Greek etymon (Κύπρος) of this name, see P. Chantraire, *Dictionnaire étimologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*, Paris 1968, 600-601; cf. the Hebrew *kôfer* (*Lawsonia alba Lam.*), the Aramean *kûf'ra'* (Syriac *kûf'rā*) and Arabic *kufr* (= *ḥinnā'*), see I. Löw, *Aramäischen Pflanzennamen*, Leipzig 1881 (repr. Hildesheim - New York 1973), 212-213, no. 159.

31. On the term *suryānī*, see J. Nasrallah, "Syriens et Suriens", in *Symposium Syriacum 1972* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 197), Rome 1974, 487-503.

Yorka Nikolaou

NUMISMATIC CIRCULATION IN THE AEGEAN ISLANDS DURING THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

Great history does indeed pass through the islands.
Fernand Braudel, The Mediterranean

Presentation below of known and published seventh-century numismatic material from the Aegean islands, including some unpublished hoards and individual coin finds, can serve to establish the foundations for an appreciation of coin circulation in the Archipelago. Such a presentation, however, has to be combined with the study of economic life, the result of socio-political developments of the period. In such a framework of combinatory study, surprising finds may be incorporated and explained; finds we hope the Aegean islands still hold for us with *the benign help* of the Tyche of excavation[1].

To study numismatic manifestations of the Aegean island economy in the seventh century, a time of pronounced fluctuations and transformations, appears at first sight to be an almost utopian – and thus captivating – undertaking. This is not only due to the nature of the material itself, which proved in the end to be sufficient. The subject

1. Many thanks are due to the Honorary Director of the Numismatic Museum, Dr. Yannis Touratsoglou for permission to study and present the material itself and to use the Archive of Numismatic Circulation (henceforth ANK) maintained systematically in the Athens Numismatic Museum. I am also grateful to him for the fecund exchange of views on the subject. Especial thanks are given to Dr. Vasso Penna for her generous discussions and the significant information she provided. The map and diagrams are the work of my colleague at the Numismatic Museum, Mr. Nikos Sougles, whom I warmly thank.

itself, namely the circulation and use of coinage in the seventh-century Byzantine state – in particular in the *ἐπί τοῦ Αἰγαίου Πελάγους Νήσων* – bristles with doubts, simplifications, ideological traps and 'magic' dating[2]. Approaches appear shaky, and excessive caution almost gives rise to dread when suggestions or working hypotheses come to be formulated. We can only emerge from this dead end with moderation as our guide, given that hyperbole has proved excessive from all quarters. Let us, then, employ – albeit in a study restricted to the Aegean – the numismatic data in approaching this outstanding historical rather than ideological problem[3].

During the seventh century, the last and perhaps most painful phase in the transition from Late Antiquity to Byzantium, the metal value of the gold coin – medium of exchange and symbol of the state – remained stable. It continued to circulate, although less widely than in the sixth century; and, of course, to be hoarded. In contrast, the copper coin during the first half of the century witnesses an inflationary over-production, and then during the second half a dramatic reduction in minting which accurately reflects the dramatic economic and fiscal problems faced by the empire[4].

To repeat a well-known and more or less accepted fact: the presence of gold coins in any given location, especially in the form of a hoard, does not constitute proof for a flourishing local market or economic prosperity, but does reveal the active presence of the state administration, and perhaps of a small local aristocracy. On the other

2. An exceptional treatment of the problems involved for another equally thorny geographical region can be found in Ilias Anagnostakis, 'Οι Πελοποννησιακοί Σκοτεινοί Χρόνοι: το Σλαβικό Πρόβλημα. Μεταμορφώσεις της Πελοποννήσου ή της έρευνας;', *Οι Μεταμορφώσεις της Πελοποννήσου (4ος-15ος αι.)*, National Research Institute, Athens 2000.

3. Of unsurpassed lucidity is the conclusion of chapter IV 'The Consequences for the Seventh Century', in M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy*, Cambridge 1985, 662 ff., especially 664 (henceforth, Hendy). The latest and most sober treatment of the subject can be found in J. F. Haldon, 'Byzantium in the Dark Centuries: Some Concluding Remarks', in *Οι Σκοτεινοί Αιώνες του Βυζαντίου (7ος-9ος αι.)*, National Research Foundation / Byzantine Research Institute, Athens 2001, 455-462, especially 459-460 (henceforth, *Σκοτεινοί Αιώνες*).

4. Hendy, op. cit., 643 and J. F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, Cambridge University Press 1990, (henceforth, Haldon) 224 ff.

hand, the absence of copper coins, which served everyday transactions, constitutes proof of the decline in the volume and extent of this kind of transaction[5]. Local markets, of course, could operate without such coins, since Byzantium never had a fully monetary economy in the modern sense of the term.

The erection of basilica churches on many of the islands (more than half of the basilicas in Greece are located on the Aegean islands) is testimony to the economic prosperity of the insular region during the sixth century. It also bears witness to an organised civic life which, although not characterised by the large conurbations encountered on the mainland, manifested itself in compact centres with long-established piecemeal characteristics of a civic community and powerful port settlements[6].

Bulk commercial activity in the Aegean continued during the first half of the seventh century, and the sources also inform us of trade in manufactured goods. Many islands played an important role in feeding the capital and others constituted transit stations for the replenishment of ships[7]. Nevertheless, information regarding the islands' agricultural production[8] is almost non-existent. Thus we may hypothesise agricultural self-sufficiency[9] which was at time satisfactory but at

5. The most detailed treatment of the subject is the chapter (IV) 'The Consequences for the Seventh Century', Hendy, op. cit., 640 ff., especially 644-645, Haldon, op. cit., 117 ff., especially 118, and idem, 'Some considerations on Byzantine Society and Economy in the Seventh Century', *BF* 10 (1985), 75-112, especially 82-84.

6. Johannes Koder, *Aigaion Pelagos (Die Nördliche Ägäis)*, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, Band 10, Wien 1998, 74 ff., (henceforth *TIB*).

7. *TIB*, op. cit., 99 ff., and Maria Gerolymatou, 'Εμπορική Δραστηριότητα κατά τους Σκοτεινούς Αιώνες', *Σκοτεινοί Αιώνες* , op. cit., 347-364 . On the maritime network: Elisabeth Malamut, *Les îles de l' Empire Byzantin, VIIIe-XIIe siècles*, volumes I and II, Paris, 1988, 538 ff. (henceforth, Malamut). For a more general appreciation of the subject, see M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy, Communications and Commerce, A.D.300-900*, Cambridge University Press 2001, 83 ff. Also, X. Moniaros, 'Σλαβικές Επιδρομές στο Αιγαίο στις Αρχές του 7ου αι. Η περίπτωση της Χίου', *Βυζαντινά* 18 (1995-96), 285-302 (henceforth, Moniaros), especially 291-292.

8. Haldon, op cit., 125 ff. for general information on the agricultural economy and society of seventh-century Byzantium.

9. On the island economy, Malamut, II, op. cit., 466. For the period from the eighth century onwards, see Malamut II, op. cit., 385 ff., and 402 ff.

others sharply limited to survival itself, as in the case of the dry and waterless Cyclades[10].

In the first half of the seventh century, the earliest hoards found to have been hidden are of copper coins: 'Chalkis'/1922 (with a suggested date of concealment at c. 608[11]); four small copper groups from the flourishing early christian port of Pythagoreion on Samos[12] and almost in serial sequence from 612 to 614[13]; two more similar hoards from Thasos with suggested date of concealment between 617 and 619[14] and, finally, the hoard known until recently in the literature as

10. Malamut I, op. cit, 25-68, especially 67-68, and more specifically on the geomorphology of the islands, op. cit., 51 ff. On the administrative organisation of the islands, see *TIB*, op. cit., 54 ff. and 74-81. On natural geography and climate, op. cit., 57 ff. and the island population, op. cit., 109 ff. and Malamut, I, op. cit., 126 ff. In particular on the Cyclades, Malamut, I, op. cit., 266 ff., especially 269-270.

11. The group consists of copper issues of Phokas: six folles and two eikosanoummia. Complete publication in Mina Galani-Krikou, Yorka Nikolaou, Mando Oeconomidou, Vasso Penna, Ioannis Touratsoglou, Eos Tsourti, *Σύνταγμα Βυζαντινών «Θησαυρών» του Νομισματικού Μουσείου*, Athens 2002, 61, no. 36 (henceforth, *ΣΒΘ*).

12. On Pythagoreio, Malamut, I, op. cit., 238 and 279 and generally on the island op. cit., 237-239.

13. Information from the ANK. These hoards are as follows: a. Pythagoreion on Samos (excavation plot Smyrnitopoulos) / 8.6.1967 (three folles of Herakleios overstruck on older ones of Maurice and Phokas), date of concealment circa 612/3; b. Pythagoreion on Samos (Early Christian cemetery) /16.6.1969 (three folles of Herakleios), date of concealment of the burial find circa 613/4; c. Pythagoreion on Samos /7-10.6.1972 (two folles and two eikosanoummia of Herakleios), date of concealment of the likewise burial find from grave fifteen of the Early Christian cemetery, *circa* 613/4; and finally, d. Pythagoreion on Samos /10.6. 1972 (one ancient Greek coin and five folles of Herakleios), date of concealment of this likewise funerary find from grave fourteen of the Early Christian cemetery, *circa* 613.

14. On the Dionysion hoard from Thasos /1923 (nineteen folles and three eikosanoummia of Herakleios) see O. Picard, 'Trésors et circulation monétaire à Thasos du IVe au VIIe siècle après J.-C.', *Thasiaca*, *BCH* Suppl. V (1979), 411-454 and *ΣΒΘ*, op. cit., 70-71, no. 44, with complete bibliography. On the island, see Malamut, I, op. cit., 45 and 231. The second find, Thasos / 1979, uncovered during excavations of the French Archaeological School on the island (according to ANK, the hoard consisted of twenty-two folles and one eikosanoummion of Herakleios) may have been concealed in circa 619, see *BCH* 104 (1980), 726.

Politika from Euboea, but now attributed to Psachna, with similar composition and concealment circa 616[15].

Historians for the most part, and less so numismatists, have suggested that the reason behind the concealment of the above-mentioned hoards was none other than the naval incursions of the Slavs with their peculiar vessels dug-out of tree-trunks (*τὶς ἐκ τῶν καλάμων σχεδίαις*). It is suggested that not only did they manage to attack, but they also established themselves on certain Aegean islands[16]. Thus arose the well-known theory: where there is a hoard there is an invasion, and vice-versa[17].

The islands, however, were not victims of Slavic invasions, with the exception of a very few located close to the continental coastline[18]. Until recently, one of these exceptions was the island of Thasos[19] – even though the destruction of the city of the same name on the island has been primarily attributed to an earthquake or a series of earthquakes[20]. Together with the fact that excavations have yet to bring

15. The hoard consists of one follis of Justin II, seven folles and eight eikosanoummia of Herakleios. Complete publication in *ΣΒΘ*, op. cit., 70, no. 43. In general, the composition of hoards of seventh-century copper coins from the islands presents no surprises. See, for example, the find from Nea Anchialos /1929: *ΣΒΘ*, op. cit., 68-69, no. 41.

16. In general on the invasions of the islands, see Malamut, I, op. cit., 61 ff. and more particularly on the 'Slav naval attacks' op. cit., 67, 138-139, 156 ff.

17. For a critique of this equation, frequently expressed in the earlier literature, see Florin Curta, 'Invasion or Inflation? Sixth- to Seventh-century Byzantine Coin Hoards in Eastern and Southeastern Europe', *Annali* 25 (1996), 65-224, especially 66-74.

18. The earlier literature maintained that the 'widespread Slavic raids' explained the existence of coin hoards: see D. M. Metcalf, 'The Slavonic threat in Greece, c. 580. Some evidence from Athens', *Hesperia* 31 (1962), 134–157; idem, 'The Aegean Coastlands under threat: some coins and coin hoards from the reign of Heraclius', *BSA* lvii (1962), 14- 23. A re-evaluation of this theory by the same author in his reassessment of some of his earlier view can be found in 'Avar and Slav Invasions into the Balkan Peninsula (ca. 575- 625): The Nature of the Numismatic Evidence', *Journal of Roman Archeology* 4 (1991), 140- 148, and by Curta, op. cit., 65-78. On the absence of archaeological finds bearing witness to general destruction caused by the 'invasions', see Moniaros, op. cit., 297 ff. (with bibliography).

19. *TIB*, op. cit., 291 ff.

20. Ch. Bakirtzes, 'Τι συνέβη στη Θάσο στις αρχές του 7ου μ. Χ. αι.;', *Φίλια Έπη εις Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνάν*, volume 3, Athens 1989, 339-341.

to light evidence of widespread destruction caused by humans during the first half of the century, it is difficult to believe that the Slavs with their *monoxyla* (*τὶς ἐξ ἐνὸς ξύλου γληπτάς νῆας*) traversed the Aegean, which '... *πέλαγος βαρύπλουν ἐστὶ καὶ δυσπέρατον καὶ κύματα μακρά κατ'ὄρεσιν εἰοκότα προσανέγειρον τοῖς πλέουσιν* ...' [21].

Most probably in our opinion, the above mentioned hoards were concealed as a result of the general turmoil that the island population faced due to a combination of the Avar-Slav and Persian attacks against the heart of the empire, and other chronic problems of survival in the region[22].

The circumstances behind the concealment of the Samos hoard of 1983[23], consisting of an impressive number (some 300 gold pieces) and composition of coins (solidi, semisses and tremisses of Maurice, Phokas and Herakleios, as well as two pairs of gold earrings) is certainly related to these of the smaller, now scattered hoard of Rhodes / 1932 with its well-known solidi of Phokas and of the co-emperors Herakleios and Herakleios Constantine, together with jewellery, but of an undetermined number of pieces[24].

The suggested concealment date by the publishers of the large hoard found on Samos to about 623 is reasonable and it is a date that agrees with our own dating of the Rhodes hoard. On the other hand, the hypothesis they adopt[25] regarding the reason for concealment should be envisaged with some reservation: an alleged sack of Samos by Persian forces, which according to the same hypothesis occupied Rhodes[26]. The pronounced hoard-like character of the two 'treasures', namely their private nature and the mixed composition on coins and jewellery, in addition to the location sites on the eastern coasts of the islands opposite Asia Minor, suggests that they were possibly transported from

21. Constantine Porphyrogennitos, *De them.* 83, ed. Petrusi, (XVII, 30-34). *TIB*, op. cit., 99 ff.

22. A. N. Stratos, *Τό Βυζάντιον στόν Ζ' αἰῶνα*, volumes 1-7, Athens 1965-1977, (henceforth Stratos), vol. 1, 150 ff., 236 ff., and 294 ff.

23. Mando Oeconomides and Phane Drossoyianni, 'A Hoard of Gold Byzantine Coins from Samos', *RN*[6] 31 (1989), 145-182. (henceforth, *Samos*).

24. S. McA. Mosser, *A Bibliography of Byzantine Coin Hoards*, *NNM* 67 (1935), 72-73 (with bibliography of earlier literature).

25. *Samos*, op. cit., 167 ff.

26. We agree entirely with the treatment of the subject by Moniaros, op. cit., 285-291 (with complete bibliography) and his argument, op. cit., 289-291.

the wealthy Asia Minor coastland in the wake Persian raids[27]. In all probability, these hoards consist of luxury items kept in the leather pouches of wealthy individuals or high state officials[28].

In the seventh century, namely during a period of intense economic instability, it was natural that from the three functions of coinage – as a measure of value, as a measure of exchange and as a means of hoarding – the third is prefixed. Common sense in periods of crisis recognises the stable value of the gold coin, and thus hoards it, sometimes together with gold jewellery. Hoarding during the first half of the seventh century constituted the stable foundation of the economy. For this reason, it is difficult to observe the circulation of gold coins on the islands, coins that pre-eminently circulate only within a macroeconomic context in the eastern provinces of the empire (eastern Thrace, coastal Asia Minor, and of course the capital). Microeconomic explanation of the phenomenon is proposed as a working hypothesis.

Similar reasons, namely insecurity caused by the Persian raids, may have been the reason for the transfer over the straits of Lesbos of 32 solidi, four issues of Phokas and 28 of Herakleios, necklaces, bracelets, rings and other gold jewellery, including ornate silver ecclesiastical vessels, all of which constitute the Kratigos / 1951 hoard, buried c. 625 in the town of Mytiline, a flourishing city and important ecclesiastical centre in the Early Christian Aegean[29]. The composition, nevertheless, of the particular find with its many pieces of jewellery and other objects of precious metal, persuades us that we have here the 'treasure chest' of a church or religious foundation from the opposite coast of Asia Minor.

27. Foss, C., 'The Persians in Asia Minor and the end of Antiquity', *EHR* 90 (1975), 721-747. Also, Stratos, vol. I, op. cit., 236 ff.

28. Foss, op. cit., 732-733. On the Persian invasions and their direct and indirect consequences, see, idem, 'The fall of Sardis in 616 and the value of evidence', *JÖBG* 24 (1975), 11-22.

29. I. Touratsoglou, "The 1951 hoard of gold solidi from Kratigos in Lesbos", forthcoming in *Balkan Numismatic Journal*, vol. I, with clear presentation of the narrow and wider historical context, and of conflicting views). In brief: Yorka Nikolaou, «Θησαυρός» Κρατήγου Μυτιλήνης/1951», in, *Το Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμένη, Ώρες Βυζαντίου, Έργα και Ημέρες στο Βυζάντιο, Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο, Οκτώβριος 2001-Ιανουάριος 2002,* Athens 2001, 156-157. Also, K. Babritsas, *ΠΑΕ* (1954), 317-329, *BCH* 79 (1955), 284-286 and S. Charitonides, *ΑΔ* 23 (1968)- *Μελέται*, 22, no. 8. On the town of Mytiline, see Malamut, I, op. cit., 274-275.

Concealment of the Polychnitos / 1942 hoard of 17 solidi of Herakleios is also dated to the period 625/6[30]. Polychnitos, a wealthy and possibly walled Lesbian settlement with many basilica churches, has provided a significant number of copper coins from a number of individual hoards[31]. It should be noted that Lesbos, a self-sufficient island within the closed natural economy of the Archipelago, may have had a limited local aristocracy[32], a member of which hid his purse during the particular historical circumstances of 625/6[33].

Individual coin finds dated to the first half of the seventh century have been found on many of the islands[34]. These finds are almost exclusively copper coins[35], mostly folles and eikosanoummia of Herakleios and Constans II, while the presence of smaller copper denominations (dekanoummia and pentanoummia) is analogous to their limited issue during the same period.

This picture is shared throughout the Greek region. Due to increased state expenditure on military activity, numerous copper coins were issued, far more than was necessary to meet demand for exchange. Inflationary pressure inevitably followed. It is in this context that the many copper denominations of Constans II amongst the individual finds – for example at Emporio on Chios and on Samos – must be understood. These coins, in other words, do not constitute evidence of monetary or economic prosperity, but of an inflationary economy.

Chance and excavation finds have been encountered on Lesbos[36],

30. Published in *ΣΒΘ*, op. cit., 71-72, no. 45. On the village, see Malamut, I, op. cit., 234-235 and 276-277.

31. *TIB*, op. cit., 266 ff.

32. Malamut, I, op. cit., 292. On the economic strength of Lesbos, see Malamut, II, op. cit., 453.

33. Stratos, op. cit., vol. II, 491 ff.

34. An exemplary treatment of and speculation on the subject of individual finds can be found in Metcalf, 'Avar and Slav Invasions', op. cit., 141-142

35. A shared find factor from other provinces of the empire, see Kleanthes Sidiropoulos, 'Η Νομισματική Κυκλοφορία στην Υστερορωμαϊκή και Πρωτοβυζαντινή Μεσσήνη. Τυπικό Παράδειγμα ή ιστορική εξαίρεση;', *Πρωτοβυζαντινή Μεσσήνη και Ολυμπία. Αστικός και αγροτικός χώρος στη Δυτική πελοπόννησο, Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Αθήνα 29-30 Μαΐου 1998*, Society of Medieval Archaeological Studies, Institute of Byzantine Research / National Research Foundation, Athens 2002, 99-110 (henceforth, Sidiropouls, 'Μεσσήνη'), especially 100 (with bibliography).

36. According to the ANK, find locations include: Polichnitos, Ano Skala, the wider area of Lisborion, and many other sites on the island. Also, *Λεσβιακά* 4 (1962), 68 ff. and op. cit., 5 (1966), 199-205, as well as *AJA* 41 (1937), 480-485. On the island, see Malamut, I, op. cit., 41 and 232-236.

Chios[37], Thasos[38], Rhodes[39], Kos[40], Euboea[41], Naxos[42], Andros[43], Kea[44], Dokos[45] and Thera[46]. No other Aegean island provides us with the

37. The great majority of individual finds come from Emporio, see M. Ballance, J. Boardman, Sp. Corbet, S. Hood, *Excavations in Chios 1952-1955, Byzantine Emporio*, Oxford 1989, 140-141. Also, *BCH* 86 (1962), 427. On the island, *TIB*, op. cit., 143 ff., Malamut, I, op. cit., 277-278, and Vasso Penna, 'Παλαιοχριστιανική και Βυζαντινή Χίος', *Χίος, Ιστορία και Τέχνη*, Chios 1988, 53 ff., especially 54-55. Eadem, 'Βυζαντινά Νομίσματα από τη Χίο', *Περιηγητική Χίου* 1983, 14-25. Also, Moniaros, op. cit., 297.

38. Picard, 'Thasos', op. cit., (with bibliography) and *TIB*, op. cit., 220 ff.

39. Locations of individual finds are mentioned in ANK as being mostly in Rhodes town and Kremasti; a solidus of Herakleios was found at Archangelos Michail. On the island, see Malamut, I, op. cit., 43. I warmly thank the 22nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and Anna-Maria Kasdhagli, a colleague in the 4th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, for the information provided by them on the small hoard of copper denominations from the Gavoyanni plot / May-June 1977 in the medieval town of Rhodes. The hoard totals eighteen pieces (sixteen folles, one eikosanoummion and one dekanoummion) minted in Constantinople under Herakleios and Constans II, during the latter's reign they were most probably concealed.

40. On Kos, the second island in the hierarchy after Rhodes in the island province, and the location of an Episcopal see in the early Byzantine period (some twenty Early Christian basilica churches have been discovered there), the ANK records individual coin finds at Mastichari, Kardamaina and Kos town.

41. On the island, see Malamut, I, op. cit., 221-227. Information from the ANK.

42. According to the ANK, these come from Hyria on Naxos.

43. According to the ANK, these come from Chora and Palaiopolis on Andros.

44. According to the ANK, the find location was on the Kea acropolis.

45. Charalambos Pennas, 'Δοκός. Μια βυζαντινή καστροπολιτεία. Η Μαρτυρία των κινητών ευρημάτων', *Έπαθλον, Συνέδριο προς τιμήν του Άδωνη Κύρου, Δήμος Πόρου και Β' ΕΠΚΑ*, Poros 2002, (forthcoming). I would like to thank the directorof the 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Charalambos Pennas for the valuable information he provided on numismatic finds from Dokos. More specifically, these consist of 400 coins, mostly issues of Constans II minted in Constantinople).

46. According to the ANK (find location, Hagia Eirene).

wealth of individual finds from this period as does Samos. Only ancient individual coin finds on Samos are more abundant than the following category, the copper issues of Herakleios and Constans II, the latter almost for every year of his reign[47]. The situation on the Sporades islands is peculiar. Only Skyros has provided finds, and these in some number[48].

The circumstances of concealment of the two latest hoards from the first half of the seventh century – Delos / 1906[49] and Telendos / unknown date[50] – and the identities of their owners are difficult to trace. These are small groups of copper denominations of Maurice, Phokas, Herakleios, and Constans II, and the preferred date of concealment is for the first before 627, and for the second in the reign of Constans II[51]. Regarding the reasons for concealment, it is perhaps preferable not to force the evidence in search of various types of catastrophe[52].

The peculiar hoard from the Yassi Ada wreck, which sank c. 626, does not reflect trends typical for coin circulation on the Aegean islands, and is thus excluded from the framework of debate here[53].

47. According to the ANK. On the island, see K. Tsakos, 'Συμβολή στην Παλαιοχριστιανική και Πρώϊμη Βυζαντινή Μνημειογραφία της Σάμου', *AE* 1979, 11-25 and Malamut, I, op. cit., 43.

48. According to the ANK. On the island, see Malamut, I, op. cit., 228-230 and in general on the Sporades, 272-273.

49. The hoard consists of 22 folles, of which one is of Maurice, one of Phokas and the remaining 20 of Herakleios. Complete publication in *ΣΒΘ*, op. cit., 72-73, no. 46. On Delos, see Malamut, I, op. cit., 38.

50. According to the ANK. The small group was found in the courtyard of the Byzantine church of Ai- Yannis and consisted of one follis and one eikosanoummion of Herakleios, and a follis of Constans II.

51. Only recently made available in the literature, the Thasos hoard is of unknown date of discovery (most probably found during excavations of the French Archaeological School on the island): *ΣΒΘ*, op. cit., 63-68, no. 39. The long period of time represented by this large hoard (including issues of Anastasios right up to Herakleios), but also piecemeal characteristics (such as the mints representation), suggest in fact that here we have two or more hoard groups, the dating of which would be both risky and random, an element stressed in the final publication, *ΣΒΘ*, op. cit., especially 63, and comment.

52. Let us allow room for later coin finds to complete the picture rather than rely on imagination.

53. J. Fagerlie, *The Coins* in, G. F. Bass, F. M. van Doornick Jr., *Yassi Ada, I, A Seventh-Century Shipwreck*, Texas A & M University Press, College Station, 1982, 144-154.

Although Crete is not only in the Aegean region, but also paramount therein, the island also will remain outside our discussion. A number of peculiarities and the size of the island demand that it has its own, special study. The larger part of early Byzantine numismatic material from Crete was unknown until quite recently. Furthermore, the nature of the decline of monetary activity analysed above no doubt also applies to Crete[54].

Also excluded from discussion are the islands of the Argosaronic gulf, despite the fact that certain of these have provided the largest and most significant individual coin finds, chiefly of the sixth century, and less so for the seventh. This exclusion from our framework was consciously made. Because of their close proximity to the mainland coast, it has been argued that these islands served as havens of refuge for the inhabitants of the mainland during periods of invasion[55]. It has also been maintained that these same islands had greatly developed local markets. Nevertheless, the volume of exchange that took place according to this hypothesis is difficult to discern. For example, it cannot explain the finds made at the small settlement on the protrusion of Zogeria on Spetses of three hoards of sixth-seventh century copper coins, and an impressive group of 43 solidi concealed at the end of the reign of Maurice[56]. It seems more likely that these groups should be

54. Kleanthis Sidiropoulos, 'Münzfünde und Münzumlauf im spätrömischen und protobyzantinischen Kreta', *XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress Berlin 1997, Akten II*, Berlin 2000, 840-852; idem, 'Πρωτοβυζαντινή Ελεύθερνα, Τομέας Ι. Τα Νομισματικά Ευρήματα', *Πρωτοβυζαντινή Ελεύθερνα*, Vol. II, Rethymnon 2000, 263-287. Also, Dimitris Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete, From the 5th Century to the Venetian Conquest*, Athens, 1988, especially 249 ff.

55. On the problems surrounding the subject, S. Hood, *BSA* 65 (1970), 37-45. Also, Anna Avraméa, *Le Péloponnèse du IVe au VIIIe siècle. Changements et Persistances,* Paris 1997, 101, (henceforth, Avraméa).

56. On the hoards Zogeria / 1970, Zogeria / 1992 and Zogeria / 1962 see Charikleia Koilakou, *ΑΔ* 47 (1992), Β΄1-*Χρονικά*, 67-69 and Mina Galani-Krikou, op. cit., 69-71, and Charalambos Pennas, 'Αποθησαυρίσεις' in, *Καθημερινή Ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*, ed. Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzi, Exhibition Catalogue, *Ώρες Βυζαντίου, Έργα και Ημέρες στο Βυζάντιο, Θεσσαλονίκη, Λευκός Πύργος, Οκτώβριος 2001-Ιανουάριος 2002*, Αθήνα 2002, 148-151. (henceforth, *Καθημερινή Ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*). On the small hoard of copper denominations from the Old Harbour of Spetses, with suggested date of concealment after 615, see Mina Galani-Krikou, «Θησαυρός» Σπετσών /1993», *ΑΔ* 48 (1993) - *Χρονικά*, 76-77. Avraméa, op. cit., 76 does not consider it possible that the hoards should be

associated with the upkeep of hastily established or long-term military installation on small but strategic islands such as Spetses and Salamis[57], (this, furthermore, is suggested by the recent find of a hexagramme of Herakleios on Poros[58]), or with a flourishing local church or a large charitable institution.

From the second half of the seventh century, things in the Aegean begin to change rapidly[59]. Byzantium no longer had to face *τόν τῶν καλάμων στόλον* of the Slavs, but an organised fleet ready for war. The Arab fleet, now well equipped, undertook organised naval operations based on a precise war plan[60].

Arab domination of the sea was not, of course, the only reason for the significant downturn in large-scale foreign trade. Nevertheless, the traditional sea lanes became unsafe and life on the islands hazardous. The closed island economy became even more closed, and the isolation of the islands even more pronounced[61]. The islanders sought save havens, built fortified settlements (*chores*) in the island interiors – in particular in areas difficult of access – strengthened the walls of their old acropoli, and in effect abandon the coast[62]. In this way, and

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associated with the 'Slav' invasions. In general on Spetses, see Avraméa, op. cit., 175-176.

57. According to the ANK, the composition of the Salamis hoard, islet of Perani / 1987 is as follows: three folles of Constans II minted in Constantinople, and a follis of Tiberios III Apsimar minted at Syracuse. The suggested date of concealment is c. 705 or slightly thereafter. D. Pallas, 'Αρχαιολογικές Επισημάνσεις στη Σαλαμίνα', *ΑΔ* 42 (1987)-*Μελέται*, 169-227. On the island, Malamut, I, op. cit., 220.

58. Displayed in the museum on the island. Thanks to Dr Vasso Penna for information on this find.

59. On the decline of ports and the disruption of commercial exchange, see Malamut, II, op. cit, 434 ff.

60. Haldon, op. cit., 55-56 and 63-66.

61. On the island economy, in particular in the northern Aegean, see *TIB*, op. cit., 92 ff.

62. On the economies of the kastra, Malamut, II, op. cit., 611. On the subject of strategically organised attacks by the Arabs on the islands, the historical framework and its consequences, see D. Zakynthinos, 'La Grande Breche dans la Tradition Historique de l'Hellenisme du Septième au Neuvième siécle', *Χαριστήριον εις Αναστάσιον Κ. Ορλάνδον*, published by the Athens Archaeological Society (Athens, 1966) especially 316 ff., and Hélène Ahrweiler, 'L' Asie Mineure et les invasions arabes (VII—IXe siècles)', *Revue Historique* 227, 1, (1962), 1-32.

evidently with the help of the Byzantine fleet, they continue to form defensive nuclei[63] and sometimes even offered powerful resistance to keep the Archipelago in the empire's embrace with relative cohesion and unity.

Under the difficult circumstances described above, small-scale – and risky – trading ventures continued both between islands, with the nearest coastal areas of the mainland, as well as with Arab neighbours and settlements lying in between. In the second half of the seventh century, the economic determinism of the Aegean finds its clearest expression.

The Lindos / 1902 hoard consisted of a solidus of Justin II, one of Constans II, and twelve of Constantine IV[64]. That the find evidently represented someone's savings is suggested by issues from prior to the reign of Constantine IV, at which time, c. 670, the hoard was concealed. It was found on the acropolis of Lindos, the second largest city of Rhodes, and was perhaps hidden slightly before the short occupation of the island by the fleet of the caliph Muawiya.

Less impressive is the find made on the Kastro on Kalymnos / 1958[65], consisting of copper issues of Herakleios, Constans II and Constantine IV. The hoard's many, poor quality copper coins appear to suggest that the islanders were increasingly anxious to hoard coins, that their economic endurance was sorely tested, and that their coin reserves were meagre. These, furthermore, were concealed during the well-known state of emergency under Constantine IV, between 668 and 673, or shortly thereafter.[66].

The hoard from the acropolis of Arkesine on Amorgos, a chance find

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63. Malamut, I, op. cit., 68. In general, Hélène Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la Mer. La Marine de Guerre, La Politique et les Institutions Maritimes de Byzance aux VIIe-XVe siècles*, Paris 1966.

64. On the city of Lindos, see Malamut, I, op. cit., 242 and 282 and in general on the island, op. cit., 242-244. Publication of the hoard is by Balling in the *Nordisk Numismatisk Arsskrift* (1962-63), 13-41.

65. The hoard consists of two folles and one eikosanoummion of Herakleios, one follis of Constans II, and one of Constantine IV. Full publication in *ΣΒΘ*, pp. cit., 76-77, no. 49. One the island, see Malamut, I, op. cit., 240-241.

66. Stratos, op. cit., Vol. V, 31 ff. The Sigri Lesbos / 1960 hoard, likewise only recently made available in the literature, is believed to have consisted of a group of four copper coins (folles of Anastasios, Maurice, Herakleios and Constans II), which do not constitute a single integral group, see *ΣΒΘ*, op. cit., 73-74, no 47.

of 1888, consists of 60 gold coins (52 solidi, four semisses and four tremisses) and was possibly concealed in 674-677/78[67]. The fact that the coins were hidden in an oyster shell (in other words, that there was no hoard pot for such an important group[68]) testifies that the hoard's owner was not a local. In contrast to the two hoards discuss above, this hoard consists of a closed group, or perhaps part of a larger group. The hoard's publisher has suggested that the person who buried it (the owner or perhaps caretaker of the coins, which appear to have been a consignment) was an officer of the Karaboi who under adverse conditions ended up on Amorgos, where he hid his coins, and under even more dire conditions was never able to recover them[69].

Although historians generally agree as to the nature of the empire's economic and fiscal problems, the picture provided by individual finds from the same period is impressive[70]. Discovered during the systematic excavations of the British School of Archaeology at Emporio on Chios, was an eikosanoummion of Constantine IV, dated to 673[71]. Smaller denominations of the same reign, specifically three dekanoummia, were found on Dokos[72]. Finally, a follis of Tiberios III Apsimar was found, according to the excavator, on Telendos[73].

67. I. Touratsoglou, 'Εν οστράκω θαλασσίω. Ο θησαυρός της Αρκεσίνης Αμοργού', in *Φως Κυκλαδικόν, Τιμητικός Τόμος στη μνήμη του Νίκου Ζαφειρόπουλου,* Athens 1999, 348-359, where, together with publication of the hoard, and presentation of other hoards dated to the reign of Constantine IV, an over all analysis is made of the economic and fiscal problems of the empire during the second half of the seventh century. Also, *ΣΒΘ*, op. cit., no. 50. On the island, see Malamut, I, op. cit., 35 and 218.

68. On the hoard pots, see *Καθημερινή Ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*, op. cit., 374-377, especially 374. For comparison, see the doubly protected group from Samos / 1983, Samos, op. cit., 164

69. Touratsoglou, 'Εν οστράκω θαλασσίω', op. cit., 352, with bibliography on the command of the Karaboi. For the thorny problem of the payment of soldiers during the same period, op. cit., 351, where the publisher of the hoard accepts the findings of Haldon, op. cit., 226 ff. and Hendy, op. cit., 625 ff., which we in turn also accept.

70. There is always room, of course, for new finds and possible surprises. Cécile Morrisson, 'Survivance de l' Économie Monétaire à Byzance', in *Σκοτεινοί Αιώνες*, op. cit., 377-392, especially 384.

71. *Byzantine Emporio*, op. cit., 141, C49.

72. Charalambos Pennas, 'Δοκός', op. cit., (forthcoming).

73. I warmly thank my colleague Anna-Maria Kasdhagli of the Fourth Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities for the information. I had the opportunity of inspecting the very coin at the Numismatic Museum.

Agreeing with the well-known axiom, that is such periods of crisis the rate of loss even of the baser copper denominations is frequently minimal, we should also consider whether continuation of monetary exchange took place on the island using older, defunct coins[74]. Given our knowledge of the central administration's weakness to supply all the markets in the empire with coin, the situation on the islands must have been more dire as regards the presence of current, valid coins.[75]. The long-term practice of using defunct or anachronistic coins is sufficiently attested by finds from other provinces of the Byzantine empire: the Peloponnese for example[76]. Furthermore, for a long period of time during this period the Aegean region must have been inaccessible to officials entrusted with withdrawing older issues and collecting taxes.

Another theory has to be addressed, however: that which rejects almost with disgust the idea that during the Dark Ages people possibly turned towards a barter economy, a state synonymous with economic primitiveness. This theory holds that a strong and long-term tradition of the minting and utilisation of coins in the Greek region was still active during the period.

This rather trenchant theory can be contrasted with the situation common in other provinces of the empire[77]; and this even though the

74. Vasso Penna, 'Νομισματική Κυκλοφορία στην Ηλεία κατά τη Βυζαντινή Περίοδο. Μία Πρώτη προσέγγιση', *Πρωτοβυζαντινή Μεσσήνη και Ολυμπία. Αστικός και αγροτικός χώρος στη Δυτική Πελοπόννησο, Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Αθήνα 29-30 Μαΐου 1998*, Society of Medieval Archaeological Studies, Institute of Byzantine Research / National Research Foundation, Athens 2002, 229-237, especially 236 on the 'anachronistic issues'.

75. Sidiropoulos, 'Μεσσήνη', op. cit., 109.

76. Sidiropoulos, 'Μεσσήνη', op. cit., 107-110, with analysis of the deep, traditional, roots of this practice by the population during periods of crisis or uncertainty as a method of 'monetary-economic survival'.

77. Anna Avramea, 'Νομισματικοί «Θησαυροί» και Μεμονωμένα Νομίσματα από την Πελοπόννησο (ΣΤ'-Ζ' αι.)', *Σύμμεικτα* 5 (1983), 49- 90, especially 73 και 89. Cécile Morrisson, 'Byzance au VII siècle: Le temoignage de la numismatique', *Βυζάντιον, Αφιέρωμα στον Ανδρέα Ν. Στράτο,* 1, Athens, 1986, 149- 163, especially 155 ff. Vasso Penna, 'Η Ζωή στις Βυζαντινές Πόλεις της Πελοποννήσου: η νομισματική μαρτυρία (8ος-12ος αι. μ.Χ.)' in *Μνήμη Martin*

phenomenon of barter appears paradoxical and monetary decline is difficult to explain within the new military structure of the Byzantine empire, where obligations of central authority were, logically, increased.

As a consequence, the islands, in contrast to continental areas, had by reason of their nature and location a necessarily isolated economy inclined towards barter, even more-so than the central provinces. The absence of coins as a means of everyday transaction supports this hypothesis. The economy in all its forms was based on the market. During periods of decline for the monetary economy, the market did not disappear, but was maintained within the framework of an exchange economy. This phenomenon does not imply the presence of a primitive economy, but the survival of the economy itself under new circumstances of classification and intense uncertainty. In this light, the islands constitute a typical paradigm of the peculiar monetary formation employed from the second half of the seventh century in the Greek region of the empire; a parallel application, in other words, of two types of economy: monetary (with coins, usually insufficient in number), and barter (without coins).

Life was not limited only to survival. Although there is no impressive evidence of a monetary economy, there is evidence of recovery: new building phases, new *kastra* and look-out towers, and new churches[78]. With speed and flexibility, the islands by the end of the century were integrated into the new state formation and came to play an important role in the empire's defence and administration[79], at a time

J. Price, Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελληνικής Νομισματικής Εταιρείας 5, Athens 1996, 195-264. Sidiropoulos, 'Μεσσήνη', op. cit., 105 ff. Yorka Nikolaou, 'Νομισματική Κυκλοφορία στη Βυζαντινή Θεσσαλία. 6ος-14ος αι.', Acts of the 3rd Scientific Congress: *Το Νόμισμα στο Θεσσαλικό Χώρο. Νομισματοκοπεία, Κυκλοφορία, Εικονογραφία, Ιστορία. Αρχαίοι-Βυζαντινοί- Νεώτεροι Χρόνοι,* University of Thessaly, Volos, May 2001 (*Οβολός* 7, Athens 2004, 571-88).

78. Presentation of the numismatic material of the ninth and tenth centuries in Vasso Penna, 'Νομισματικές Νύξεις για τη Ζωή στις Κυκλάδες κατά τους 8ο και 9ο αιώνες', *Σκοτεινοί Αιώνες*, op. cit., 399-410, with find data from Naxos, Thera, Amorgos, Delos etc.; Haldon, op. cit., 294.

79. Despite their peculiar administrative, commercial and settlement characteristics, the islands play a primary role in the general revival of the empire. On administrative and military organisation, see Hendy, op. cit., 653 and on the organisation of the naval *themata*, op. cit., 651-652. Also, Aikaterini

when *kommerkia* were founded in the Cyclades and on Rhodes and, later on, *apothekai* appear on large islands (Andros and Melos) and smaller ones (Thera, Anaphi, Ios, and Amorgos)[80].

Although the statistical base formulated after study of the above material may appear weak, we believe that it may provide guidelines for use of money in the seventh-century Aegean. We are, of course, aware that the material presented here is limited when contrasted to the geographical size of the region we have tried to cover. Given that the picture is restricted – it being practically impossible to utilise all the material when calculating quotas[81], something that remains a desideratum for research – let us consider the result of statistical analysis of the hoards.

As concerns gold coin hoards, the dominance of the metropolitan mint is clearly evident, while issues of the Thessaloniki mint are scarcely apparent. The vast majority of gold coin hoards consist of solidi, the hard coin used for stockpiling money, while the proportion of smaller gold denominations is clearly lower, in complete accord with their limited issue and circulation in other Byzantine provinces during the seventh century.

As concerns the copper hoards, we observe once again that the follis dominates the proportion of finds, while eikosanoummia are more poorly represented. Preference, therefore, was once again being shown for the larger denomination as the most stable coin for storing cash. Issues from the central mint of Constantinople clearly predominate, but the Thessaloniki mint makes an adequate appearance. Nikomedia and Kyzikos, together with other eastern mints, are disbanded during the

Christophilopoulou, 'Τα Σφραγιστικά Κατάλοιπα για την Διοικητική Εξέλιξη του Νησιωτικού Συγκροτήματος του Αιγαίου, από τον Ζ' μέχρι και τον Θ' αιώνα', *Χιακά Χρονικά* 12 (1980), 18-21 and *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, J. Nesbitt and N. Oikonomides (eds.), Vol. II, South of the Balkans, the Islands, South of Asia Minor, Washington D.C., 1994, 109-112. (henceforth, *Seals DO*).

80. On the *apothekai*, see Hendy, op. cit., especially 656-657, and 660, and Haldon, op. cit., 232 ff., especially 234-236. On the sigilographic data and – in contrast with other Byzantine provinces — the rich and early seal evidence, see *Seals DO,* op. cit., 111-149, with all the earlier bibliography. Particularly interesting are the lead-seals of the *trakteutai*, financial officials empowered with the duty of collecting taxes, op. cit., 130, no. 43.5. On the general revival of the empire during the ninth century and after, see Hendy, op. cit., 645.

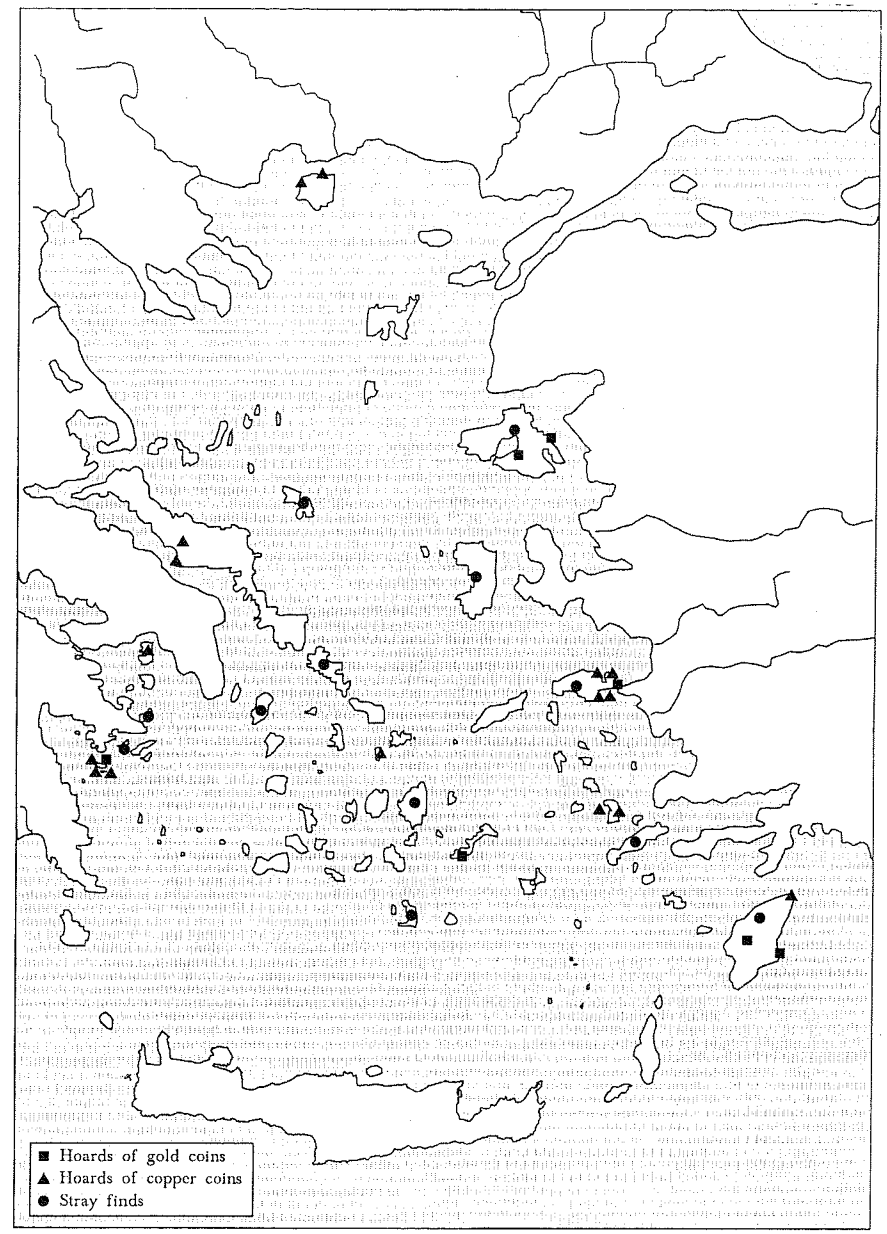
81. Due mostly to the absence of data on the mints.

seventh century, and their production and reduced output are clearly reflected in the rarity of coins minted there in seventh-century finds from the Byzantine empire[82].

Despite the peculiarities involved, coin circulation on the Aegean islands can in general terms be associated with economic developments in the Byzantine empire during the seventh century. These developments led, as far as the islands were concerned, to a dichotomy in regional economic life spanning the two halves of the century: developed, monetary economy in the first half and, in the second half, continuity and survival under trying economic-political circumstances, which included a trend towards natural economy and the use of redundant coinage.

82. The complete absence of issues from Italian mints no doubt constitutes a clear indication of the virtual absence of commercial relations between the islands and the West during the disturbed seventh century.

Numismatic Circulation in the Aegean Islands during the 7th c.



Σοφία Πατούρα

Η ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΟΤΗΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΕΚΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΣΜΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΛΑΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΦΡΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΑΒΙΚΗΣ ΧΕΡΣΟΝΗΣΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΪΣΛΑΜΙΚΗ ΕΠΟΧΗ

«Ο Θεός που με έκρινε άξιο να εκπληρώσω τη βούλησή του, με αναζήτησε και με έθεσε στην υπηρεσία του και εγώ (...) ανταποκρίθηκα στο θείο κέλευσμα, απωθώντας και διασκορπίζοντας, χάρη σε κάποια θεία δύναμη, τα δεινά που κατέχουν τον κόσμο, ώστε το ανθρώπινο γένος να επαναχθεί στο σεβασμό του θείου νόμου και η μακαριότατη πίστη να διευρυνθεί υπό την καθοδήγηση του Κυρίου. (...) Με την πεποίθηση ότι αυτή είναι η άριστη υπηρεσία, ότι αυτή είναι η χάρις που δόθηκε σε μένα, προχωρώ προς τις χώρες της Ανατολής οι οποίες πλήττονται από μεγάλες συμφορές και ζητούν τη μέριμνά μου.»[1] Το συγκεκριμένο απόσπασμα από τον *Βίο του Κωνσταντίνου* του επισκόπου Ευσέβιου δεν αποδίδει μόνο την ιδέα που είχε ο ίδιος ο Κωνσταντίνος για την αποστολή του ως ιστορικού προσώπου, διακηρύσσοντας την πεποίθησή του πως ενεργούσε ως θεϊκό όργανο, αλλά αντανακλά κυρίως την αρχή της οικουμενικής ιδεολογίας πάνω στην οποία στηρίχθηκε όλο το οικοδόμημα της εξωτερικής πολιτικής της πρώϊμης βυζαντινής Αυτοκρατορίας. Στο επίπεδο της πολιτικής ιδεολογίας η *pax romana* έγινε *pax christiana* και η εξωτερική πολιτική της Αυτοκρατορίας συνδέθηκε στενά με το ιεραποστολικό έργο της βυζαντινής Εκκλησίας.[2] Από την εποχή του Αυγούστου οι Ρωμαίοι αυτοκράτορες αξίωναν μία θεϊκά νομιμοποιημένη επικυριαρχία σε ολόκληρο

1. Ευσέβιος, *De Vita Constantini* II, 28, 2-29, 1, έκδ. F. Winkelmann, *Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin*, Βερολίνο 1975, 60.

2. Βλ. D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe, 500-1453*,

τον κόσμο συμβολίζοντάς την στα βασιλικά εμβλήματα με τη χρήση της σφαίρας.[3] Η αξίωση αυτή διατήρησε την ισχύ της και κατά το πρώιμο Βυζάντιο περιβεβλημένη όμως με τη θεϊκή δύναμη του Χριστιανισμού. Η χριστιανική θρησκεία αποτέλεσε τον άξονα γύρω από τον οποίο στράφηκαν όλες οι φάσεις της πολιτικής, ιδεολογικής και πολιτιστικής ζωής του Βυζαντίου. Η σχέση αμοιβαίας εξάρτησης, που από τους πρώτους αιώνες δημιουργήθηκε ανάμεσα στην κρατική και εκκλησιαστική εξουσία, καθόρισε σε μεγάλο βαθμό και την άσκηση της εξωτερικής θρησκευτικής πολιτικής της Αυτοκρατορίας. Ορισμένοι, για παράδειγμα, αυτοκράτορες, που δεν ήταν βαθειά θρησκευόμενες προσωπικότητες, υπακούοντας στα κελεύσματα της εποχής, ήταν αναγκασμένοι να δίνουν προβάδισμα στη θρησκεία, στο πλαίσιο του πολιτικού τους προγράμματος. Ο αυτοκράτορας, ως φορέας της κρατικής εξουσίας, αναμείχθηκε ενεργά τόσο στις εσωτερικές όσο και στις εξωτερικές υποθέσεις της Εκκλησίας, αφού κατά τη χριστιανική κοσμοθεωρία ήταν το εκλεκτό όργανο του Θεού για τη διάδοση της πίστης.

Η νέα θρησκεία, της οποίας ο οικουμενικός χαρακτήρας ευνοούσε τη δημιουργία μίας ιδεολογίας χωρίς σύνορα, τέθηκε σύντομα στην υπηρεσία της εξωτερικής πολιτικής του βυζαντινού κράτους και η Εκκλησία έγινε όργανο του κρατικού μηχανισμού του.[4] Ο Κωνσταντίνος, ο πρώτος χριστιανός αυτοκράτορας και *ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἐκτός*, κατά τον βιογράφο του Ευσέβιο, διέβλεψε τη σημασία της νέας θρησκείας και το ρόλο που θα διαδραμάτιζε μελλοντικά και επεδίωξε ώστε η επικυριαρχία του ρωμαϊκού κράτους να προβάλεται όχι μόνο στο πολιτικό επίπεδο αλλά και στο θρησκευτικό. Ο Σωζομενός, αναφερόμενος στην προσπάθειά του να προστατεύσει τους χριστιανούς της Περσίας, συνοψίζει την οικουμενική του πολιτική στην παρακάτω φράση: *ἐπειρᾶτο* [ο Κωνσταντίνος] *πείθειν αὐτὸν εὐνοεῖν τῇ θρησκείᾳ. πλείστη γὰρ ἐχρῆτο κηδεμονίᾳ περὶ τοὺς πανταχοῦ Χριστιανοὺς 'Ρωμαίους καὶ ἀλλοφύλους.*[5] Ο τίτλος *κοινὸς ἐπίσκοπος* που αποδίδει ο Ευσέβιος στον Κωνσταντίνο είναι, προφανώς, συνώνυμος των χαρακτηρισμών *ἀπόστολος* και *ἰσαπόστολος* που εμπεριέχονται σε ύμνους αφιερωμένους στη μνήμη του και προσδιορίζουν την παγκόσμια ιεραποστολική του δράση και το ρόλο του στη συνέχιση του έργου των Αποστόλων, της διάδοσης, δηλαδή, του Χριστιανισμού πέραν των ορίων της Αυτοκρατορίας: *Κοινῶς μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἦν τοιοῦτος. ἐξαίρετον δὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ νέμων φροντίδα, διαφερομένων τινῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ διαφόρους χώρας, οἷα τις κοινὸς ἐπίσκοπος ἐκ Θεοῦ καθεστάμενος συνόδους τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργῶν συνεκρότει.*[6] Αναφορά στην αποστολική του ιδιότητα, με την έννοια της συνέχισης του έργου των Αποστόλων, κάνει και ο Ιωάννης ο Δαμασκηνός στην επιστολή του προς τον Θεόφιλο, στην οποία αναφέρει ότι *ὁ ἐν βασιλεῦσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολος Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Μέγας* (...) *ὡς στῦλον πυρσοφανῆ τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς ὑπερουσίας καὶ ζωαρχικῆς ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος τοῖς πέρασιν ἐξέπεμψεν.*[7]

Λονδίνο 1971, 275. Πολλές και ενδιαφέρουσες απόψεις για την οικουμενική ιδεολογία του βυζαντινού κράτους διατυπώνει ο συγγραφέας στα κεφάλαια 9 και 10.

3. Βλ. Δ. Λέτσιος, *Βυζάντιο και Ερυθρά Θάλασσα, σχέσεις με τη Νουβία, Αιθιοπία και Νότια Αραβία ως την Αραβική κατάκτηση* (Ιστορικές Μονογραφίες 5), Αθήνα 1988.

4. Βλ. Σοφία Πατούρα, «Η διάδοση του Χριστιανισμού στα πλαίσια της εξωτερικής πολιτικής του βυζαντινού κράτους (4ος-5ος αι.)», *Σύμμεικτα* 7 (1987) 215-236.

5. Σωζομενός, *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία*, έκδ. J. Bidez - G. C. Hansen, *Sozomenus Kirchengeschichte*, Βερολίνο 1960, 69-70. Πρβλ. J. Vogt, *Constantin der Grosse und sein Jahrhundert*, Μόναχο 1960, 237-238, 245-246.

Είναι προφανές ότι ο τίτλος του *Απόστολου* που είχε αποδοθεί στον Κωνσταντίνο είχε μεγαλύτερη βαρύτητα από εκείνον του *ἐπισκόπου*, η δε χρήση του δημιουργούσε την κοινή πεποίθηση ότι αποστολικό χρέος του αυτοκράτορα ήταν να ενεργεί για τα συμφέροντα της χριστιανικής πίστης τόσο μέσα όσο και έξω από τα σύνορα της Αυτοκρατορίας.

Οι διάδοχοί του διεύρυναν την θρησκευτική του πολιτική και της προσέδωσαν νέες διαστάσεις, μετατρέποντας πολλές φορές την Εκκλησία και την ιεραρχία της σε εργαλεία εξουσίας και διασφάλισης των συμφερόντων του κράτους. Από αυτούς, ο γιος του Κωνστάντιος και ο Ιουστινιανός υπήρξαν οι αυτοκράτορες που έπαιξαν τον σημαντικότερο ρόλο σε ζητήματα εξωτερικής θρησκευτικής πολιτικής με τις προσωπικές παρεμβάσεις και την άμεση ανάμειξή τους σε εκχριστιανισμούς ξένων λαών. Μολονότι οι μέθοδοι και οι πρακτικές που εφαρμόσθηκαν στο πεδίο του προσηλυτισμού ήταν διαφορετικές από περιοχή σε περιοχή, σε συνάρτηση πάντοτε με τις υπάρχουσες συνθήκες και τις σκοπιμότητες που κατά περίπτωση εξυπηρετούσαν, ο κεντρικός στόχος ήταν αναμφίβολα κοινός· εκείνος της καθ' οιονδήποτε τρόπο ευρύτερης διάδοσης της νέας θρησκείας και της ένταξης, ει δυνατόν όλων των λαών στη χριστιανική οικουμένη και κατ' επέκταση στη σφαίρα επιρροής του Βυζαντίου.

6. Ευσέβιος, *De Vita Constantini* I, 44, 1-2, ό.π., 38

7. Ιωάννης Δαμασκηνός, *Epistola ad Theophilum* 3, έκδ. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 95, στ. 348b c.

Καὶ αὐτῷ [Χριστῷ] *ἐδόθη ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία καὶ πάντες οἱ λαοί, φυλαὶ γλῶσσαι δουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ*, φέρεται να προφήτευσε ο Δανιήλ, κατά τον χριστιανό γεωγράφο του 6ου αιώνα, τον Κοσμά τον Ινδικοπλεύστη,[8] ο οποίος, βιώνοντας προσωπικά το φαινόμενο της εκρηκτικής επέκτασης του Χριστιανισμού στην εποχή του, επιχειρεί να του προσδώσει μία υπέρτατη και παγκόσμια διάσταση. Η ενεργή συμμετοχή της Αυτοκρατορίας στη διάδοση της χριστιανικής πίστης δικαιολογείται, σύμφωνα πάντοτε με την προφητεία του Δανιήλ, από το γεγονός ότι *ἡ βασιλεία τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετέχει τῶν ἀξιωμάτων τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Δεσπότου Χριστοῦ*,[9] ιδεολογία που επιβιώνει αρκετούς αιώνες αργότερα, διατυπωμένη στη φράση του Νικηφόρου Βλεμμύδη *Βασιλεία μὲν οὖν εἰκονίζει κράτος Θεοῦ*.[10] Η συγκεκριμένη διατύπωση του Βλεμμύδη επιβεβαιώνει την παγιωμένη πλέον αντίληψη των Βυζαντινών ότι η επίγεια Αυτοκρατορία τους ήταν η απεικόνιση του θεϊκού βασιλείου. Από πολύ ενωρίς, εξάλλου, οι χριστιανοί υπήκοοι της Ανατολικής Αυτοκρατορίας, που συνέχιζαν να αυτοαποκαλούνται «Ρωμαίοι», πίστευαν ότι η Αυτοκρατορία τους ήταν παγκόσμια, η μόνη πραγματικά οικουμενική εξουσία.[11] Ήταν υπερήφανοι για την πρωτεύουσά τους, την οποία παρουσίαζαν ως «Νέα Ιερουσαλήμ» και «Νέα Ρώμη», ως «Βασιλεύουσα» και «Βασιλίδα των Πόλεων». Ο ίδιος ο Ινδικοπλεύστης εκφράζει την πεποίθηση ότι η ρωμαϊκή Αυτοκρατορία, παρά τις όποιες επιθέσεις δέχεται από τους βαρβάρους, με τη βοήθεια του Θεού θα παραμείνει αήττητη και ο Χριστιανισμός δεν θα περιορισθεί, αλλά αντίθετα θα διευρυνθεί.[12]

Επιστρέφοντας στον Κωνσταντίνο και τις περιοχές που μας ενδιαφέρουν στην παρούσα μελέτη, ο βιογράφος του Ευσέβιος, αναφερόμενος στην πολιτι-

8. Κοσμάς Ινδικοπλεύστης, *Χριστιανική Τοπογραφία*, Βιβλίο ΙΙ, 71, έκδ. W. Wolska-Conus, *Cosmas Indicopleustès, Topographie Chrétienne*, Παρίσι 1968, 387

9. Κοσμάς Ινδικοπλεύστης, *Χριστιανική Τοπογραφία*, Βιβλίο ΙΙ, 75, ό.π., 391

10. Νικηφόρος Βλεμμύδης, *De regis oficciis* 2, έκδ. *Patrologia Graeca* 142, στ. 659.

11. Βλ. A. P. Kazhdan - Ann Wharton Epstein, *Αλλαγές στον βυζαντινό πολιτισμό κατά τον 11ο και 12ο αιώνα.* (ελλ. μτφρ. Α. Παππάς - Δ. Τσουγκαράκης), Αθήνα 1997, 258-259.

12. «*Θαρρῶν γὰρ ἀποφαίνομαι ὅτι, εἰ καὶ διὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας ἁμαρτίας πρὸς παιδείαν ὀλίγον ἐχθροὶ βάρβαροι τῇ Ῥωμανίᾳ ἐπανίστανται, ἀλλὰ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ διακρατοῦντος ἀήττητος διαμένει ἡ βασιλεία, ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ στενοῦσθαι τὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἀλλὰ πλατύνεσθαι*» (Κοσμάς Ινδικοπλεύστης, *Χριστιανική Τοπογραφία*, βιβλίο ΙΙ, 75, ό.π., 391).

κή και πνευματική ακτινοβολία της Αυτοκρατορίας, σε παγκόσμια κλίμακα, καταλήγει ότι ο χριστιανός αυτοκράτορας επεξέτεινε την εξουσία του στο Νότο μέχρι τους Βλέμμυες και τους Αιθίοπες, φθάνοντας μέχρι τους Ινδούς, στα πέρατα της Οικουμένης.[13] Στο πολύ σημαντικό χωρίο που διαδέχεται αυτή την πληροφορία, ο Ευσέβιος συνοψίζει την πολιτική ιδεολογία της εποχής –βασισμένη στη χριστιανική θεωρία και φιλοσοφία και στην εξ αυτής απορρέουσα αντίληψη του «ελέω Θεού ηγεμόνα»– στην παρακάτω κυρίως φράση: *ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς* (...) *φωτὸς εὐσεβείας ἀκτῖσιν ἐκλάμπων, ἅπαντας εἶχεν ὑπηκόους, τοπάρχας ἐθνάρχας σατράπας βασιλέας παντοίων βαρβάρων ἐθνῶν ἐθελοντὶ ἀσπαζομένους καὶ χαίροντας τοῖς τε παρ' αὐτῶν ξενίοις τε καὶ δώροις διαπρεσβευομένους καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν γνῶσιν τε καὶ φιλίαν περὶ πλείστου ποιουμένους, ὥστε καὶ γραφαῖς εἰκόνων αὐτὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμᾶν ἀνδριάντων τε ἀναθήμασι, μόνον τε αὐτοκρατόρων παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσι Κωνσταντῖνον γνωρίζεσθαί τε καὶ βοᾶσθαι*.[14] Η πολιτική λοιπόν επιρροή της Αυτοκρατορίας στους Βλέμμυες, τους Νοβάδες και τους Ινδούς (Αιθίοπες), που, όπως φαίνεται, εξασφαλιζόταν με πρεσβείες και δώρα από τον αυτοκράτορα, φέρει στην προκειμένη περίπτωση τον ιδεολογικό μανδύα της χριστιανικής φιλοσοφίας και κοσμοθεωρίας, προσφέροντας στους συγχρόνους το αίσθημα της επικυριαρχίας της χριστιανικής ρωμαϊκής Αυτοκρατορίας σε παγκόσμια κλίμακα. Μία δεύτερη μαρτυρία του Ευσέβιου, πιο συγκεκριμένη από την πρώτη, μιλάει για την παρουσία στην αυλή του Μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου αλλοεθνών πρεσβειών, ανάμεσα στις οποίες υπήρχαν *Βλεμμύων τε καὶ Αἰθιόπων γένη* και αναφέρεται στην προσφορά ποικίλων δώρων προς τον αυτοκράτορα, ο οποίος για να ενισχύσει τη φιλία δεν διστάζει να προσφέρει σε ανταπόδοση στους επιφανέστερους των πρέσβεων ακόμη και ρωμαϊκά αξιώματα.[15] Στη συνέχεια, ο Ευσέβιος, με αφορμή την επέκταση του Χριστιανισμού στην περσική Αυτοκρατορία, ενισχύει ακόμη περισσότερο την ιδεολογία της «ελέω Θεού» παγκόσμιας επικυριαρχίας του αυτοκράτορα και τον χαρακτηρίζε *κοινὸ τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ κηδεμόνα* και «κυβερνήτη των απανταχού της οικουμένης εθνών»,[16] ενώ ο ίδιος ο Κωνσταντίνος στη μακροσκελή επιστολή, που κατά

13. Ευσέβιος, *De Vita Constantini* I, 8 1-3, ό.π., 18.

14. Στο ίδιο, 18-19.

15. Στο ίδιο, 122.

16. «*πυθόμενος γέ τοι παρὰ τῷ Περσῶν γένει πληθύειν τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας λαούς τε μυριάνδρους ταῖς Χριστοῦ ποίμναις ἐναγελάζεσθαι, χαίρων ἐπὶ τῇ τούτων ἀκοῇ οἷα τις κοινὸς τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ κηδεμὼν πάλιν κἀνταῦθα τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁπάντων ἐποι-*

τον βιογράφο του απέστειλε στον βασιλιά της Περσίας για την προστασία των χριστιανών υπηκόων του, προβάλλει με έμφαση τον οικουμενικό του ρόλο ως προστάτη και εγγυητή της σωτηρίας όλων των χριστιανών, *ἐκ τῶν περάτων τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ* και ολόκληρης της Οικουμένης.[17]

Ο γιος του Κωνστάντιος, ο οποίος όπως είναι γνωστό αναμείχθηκε πιο ενεργά από τον πατέρα του στα ζητήματα της Εκκλησίας, πέρασε από την χριστιανική πολιτική θεωρία του Ευσέβιου στην χριστιανική πολιτική πράξη με συγκεκριμένες πολιτικές ενέργειες θρησκευτικού χαρακτήρα σε λαούς και περιοχές που βρίσκονταν εκτός των συνόρων της Αυτοκρατορίας.[18] Στο χώρο της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης, που μας απασχολεί στην παρούσα μελέτη, είναι γνωστή η παρέμβασή του στην Αιθιοπία και την Υεμένη, έμμεσα στην πρώτη περίπτωση και άμεσα στη δεύτερη. Χωρίς να αναφερθούμε στα γεγονότα, που είναι άλλωστε γνωστά, θα περιορισθούμε στην αξιολόγηση κάποιων στοιχείων που αναδεικνύουν τον χαρακτήρα αυτών των παρεμβάσεων, οι οποίες, όπως θα φανεί πιο κάτω, έγιναν για την εξυπηρέτηση πολιτικών και οικονομικών, κυρίως, συμφερόντων.

Η Αιθιοπία, που από την ελληνιστική και ρωμαϊκή εποχή υπήρξε πόλος έλξεως ρωμαίων και ελλήνων εμπόρων, κατείχε, και κατά την εποχή που εξετάζουμε, σημαντική θέση στη διεξαγωγή του «παγκόσμιου» εκείνη την εποχή εμπορίου, δεδομένου ότι συνέδεε τη Μεσόγειο, μέσω της Αιγύπτου με τον εσωτερικό αφρικανικό χώρο, και μέσω της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης με την Αραβία και τις Ινδίες.[19] Η ανάδειξη του αξουμιτικού βασιλείου σε ναυτικό και εμπορι-

εἶτο πρόνοιαν» και πιο κάτω: «*Οὕτω δὴ λοιπὸν τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐθνῶν ὥσπερ ὑφ' ἑνὶ κυβερνήτῃ διευθυνομένων καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ θεράποντι τοῦ θεοῦ πολιτείαν ἀσπαζομένων...*» (Ευσέβιος, *De Vita Constantini* IV, 8 και 14, 1-2, ό.π., 122-123, 125).

17. «*τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχων σύμμαχον, ἐκ τῶν περάτων τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ἀρξάμενος πᾶσαν ἐφεξῆς τὴν οἰκουμένην βεβαίοις σωτηρίας ἐλπίσι διήγειρα*» (Ευσέβιος, *De Vita Constantini* IV, 9, ό.π., 123).

18. Για παράδειγμα, το 341 παρίστατο ο ίδιος στην τελετή της χειροτονίας του Ουλφίλα, ως επισκόπου των Γότθων, ενώ λίγα χρόνια αργότερα (348), εκδηλώνοντας το προσωπικό του ενδιαφέρον για τους διωγμούς που υφίσταντο στη χώρα τους οι Γότθοι, τους δέχθηκε στην Αυτοκρατορία και τους εγκατέστησε στη Θράκη (βλ. Φιλοστόργιος, *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία*, II, 5, έκδ. J. Bidez - F. Winkelmann, *Philostorgius Kirchengeschichte*, Βερολίνο 1981, 18). Πρβλ. Πατούρα, «Διάδοση», 217-218.

19 Βλ. Θ. Παπαδόπουλλος, «Στοιχεία διαγραφής του Βυζαντινοαιθιοπικού πολιτιστικού χώρου», *Βυζαντινά* 13/1 (1985) 677. Η μαρτυρία του Κοσμά του Ινδικοπλεύστη για την ύπαρξη ελληνικής παροικίας στη νήσο Διοσκορίδου (Σοκότρα) και την επικοινωνία

κό κέντρο, τον 3ο κυρίως αιώνα, σε μία περίοδο αδυναμίας, ίσως, της ρωμαϊκής Αυτοκρατορίας να ελέγχει την περιοχή απόλυτα, το κατέστησε «μήλο της έριδας» ανάμεσα στους Ρωμαίους, τους Πέρσες και τους Άραβες.

Τον 4ο αιώνα, οι συνθήκες που είχαν διαμορφωθεί στην περιοχή (ανάπτυξη του εμπορίου, επικράτηση του ελληνιστικού πολιτιστικού στοιχείου και σκληρός ανταγωνισμός με την Περσία), έστρεψαν το ενδιαφέρον των αρχών της Αυτοκρατορίας στις παράκτιες χώρες της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης, τις οποίες ενέταξαν στο ιεραποστολικό τους πρόγραμμα, με στόχο τον πολιτικό και οικονομικό τους έλεγχο, μέσω της ιδεολογικής και πολιτιστικής τους επιρροής.[20] Η παρέμβαση του Κωνστάντιου στις υποθέσεις του Αξούμ έγινε μετά την ιεραποστολική δράση του Φρουμέντιου,[21] όταν εκείνος είχε ήδη χειροτονηθεί επίσκοπος της χώρας από τον καθολικό πατριάρχη Αλεξανδρείας Αθανάσιο και συνίσταται στην επιστολή που απέστειλε ο αυτοκράτορας στους δύο ηγεμόνες του Αξούμ, θρησκευτικού, αλλά και πολιτικού περιεχομένου, μέσω της οποίας τους ζητούσε την επαναπροώθηση του Φρουμέντιου στην Αλεξάνδρεια, προκειμένου να χειροτονηθεί εκ νέου από τον διάδοχο του Αθανασίου, Γεώργιο, ο οποίος ήταν αρειανός.[22] Το στοιχείο που αξίζει της ιδιαίτερης προσοχής μας από το περιεχόμενο της επιστολής είναι η προσφώνηση του Κωνστάντιου προς τους δύο ηγέτες «αδελφοί τιμιώτατοι»,[23] η οποία, όπως τονίζει ο Δ. Λέτσιος, εναρμονίζεται με τις προδιαγραφές της επίσημης επιστολογραφίας της εποχής και την ορολογία της διπλωματικής επικοινωνίας.[24]

των κατοίκων της με ελληνόφωνους της Αιθιοπίας (*Χριστιανική Τοπογραφία*, βιβλίο III, 65, ό.π., 503) είναι πολύ σημαντική όσον αφορά την ανάπτυξη εμπορικών δραστηριοτήτων στα παράλια και την ευρύτερη περιοχή γύρω από την Ερυθρά Θάλασσα.

20 Λέτσιος, *Βυζάντιο*, 147-155.

21 Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (έκδ. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 21, στ. 441-541)· Σωκράτης, *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία* I 19, έκδ. R. Hussey, Οξφόρδη 1853, 113-117· Σωζομενός, *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία* II 24, ό.π., 83-84· Θεοδώρητος, *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία* I 23, έκδ. L. Parmentier - M. Heinemann *Theodorets Kirchengeschichte*, Λειψία 1911, 73-74. Πρβλ. Λέτσιος, *Βυζάντιο*, 156-164, όπου υπάρχει και πλούσια βιβλιογραφία.

22 Αθανασίου, *Προς τον Βασιλέα Κωνστάντιον, Απολογία*, κεφ. 21 (έκδ. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 25, στ. 636-636). Πρβλ. Παπαδόπουλλος, «Στοιχεία», 684-685.

23. «*Ὁ Θεὸς ὑμᾶς διαφυλάττοι, ἀδελφοὶ τιμιώτατοι*» (Αθανασίου, *Προς Βασιλέα Κωνστάντιον*, ό.π., στ. 637.

24. Λέτσιος, *Βυζάντιο*, 168. Την τιμητική μεταχείριση των Αιθιόπων ηγεμόνων από τον Βυζαντινό αυτοκράτορα μαρτυρεί επίσης ελληνική επιγραφή που βρέθηκε στο νησί

Το αίτημα του Κωνστάντιου προς τους ηγεμόνες του Αξούμ για εναρμόνιση της αιθιοπικής Εκκλησίας με το επίσημο αρειανικό δόγμα, αποτελεί στην πραγματικότητα την αφορμή για πολιτική παρέμβαση στα πράγματα της Αιθιοπίας που την εποχή εκείνη ήταν αναμφισβήτητα ο σημαντικότερος παράγοντας της ευρύτερης περιοχής στην διεξαγωγή του εμπορίου από και προς τις Ινδίες. Η πολιτική παρουσία του Βυζαντίου στην Αιθιοπία με αφορμή την επιβολή του αρειανικού δόγματος στην μόλις εκχρισθιανισθείσα χώρα, ήταν πολύ σημαντική, δεδομένου ότι οι αρχές του αναζητούσαν τρόπους πρόσβασης στα εμπορικά κέντρα της περιοχής για τον οικονομικό έλεγχο όχι μόνο της Αιθιοπίας και της Νότιας Αραβίας, αλλά και των χωρών που υπάγονταν στη δική τους σφαίρα επιρροής.[25]

Πολύ πιο ενδιαφέρουσα και πιο ενδεικτική για την παρεμβατική πολιτική που άσκησε ο Κωνστάντιος στον ευρύτερο χώρο της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης είναι αναμφίβολα η περίπτωση της Υεμένης. Στην περίπτωση αυτή η χριστιανική πολιτική θεωρία περί της αποστολικής ιδιότητας των βυζαντινών αυτοκρατόρων παίρνει σάρκα και οστά με την άμεση ανάμειξη του Κωνστάντιου στο εγχείρημα του εκχριστιανισμού των Ομηριτών. Η εκτενής περιγραφή του γεγονότος από τον Φιλοστόργιο[26] δείχνει ότι ο αυτοκράτορας και οι σύμβουλοί του έθεσαν σ' εφαρμογή ένα καλά μελετημένο και οργανωμένο σχέδιο προσέγγισης των Ομηριτών της Νότιας Αραβίας με προφανή σκοπό την εκχριστιάνισή τους, αλλά πραγματικό στόχο τον οικονομικό έλεγχο της περιοχής και τον περιορισμό της δράσης των Περσών εμπόρων[27]. Τρία, κυρίως, στοιχεία που

Φίλαι, νοτίως του Ασουάν, η οποία μνημονεύει την τιμητική υποδοχή ενός αντιβασιλέως του Αξούμ ο οποίος είχε επισκεφθεί την Κωνσταντινούπολη το έτος 360 (βλ. Παπαδόπουλλος, «Στοιχεία», 685).

25. Τον 4ο αιώνα φαίνεται πως στην Αιθιοπία υπήρχαν πολλοί Ρωμαίοι έμποροι, οι οποίοι ασκούσαν εμπορικές συναλλαγές και με γειτονικές περιοχές, αφού όλες οι διηγήσεις των πηγών αναφέρονται σε «Ρωμαίους εμπόρους». Μία λανθάνουσα, επομένως, διείσδυση του Χριστιανισμού στον ευρύτερο χώρο θεωρείται αναμφισβήτητη. Τη θρησκευτική παρουσία αυτών των εμπόρων φρόντισε να εξασφαλίσει ο Φρουμέντιος και οι ιεραπόστολοι που τον συνόδευαν, σύμφωνα με όσα υποστηρίζει ο I. Engelhardt (*Mission und Politik in Byzanz, Ein Beitrag zur strukturanalyse Byzantinischer Mission zur Zeit Justins und Justinians* [Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 19], Μόναχο 1974, 106)

26. Η σχετική διήγηση του Φιλοστοργίου περιλαμβάνεται στις σελίδες 32-36 της *Εκκλησιαστικής Ιστορίας* και είναι ιδιαίτερα σαφής και λεπτομερής.

27. Βλ. A. Dihle, *Die Sendung des Inders Theophilos, Politeia und Res Publica*, Βισμπάντεν 1969, 330-336· Πατούρα, «Διάδοση», 218.

εμπεριέχονται στη σχετική πληροφορία επιβεβαιώνουν αυτή τη διαπίστωση: α) η επιλογή του Θεόφιλου του αποκαλούμενου «Ινδού» να ηγηθεί της αποστολής, β) η αναβάθμιση της ιεραποστολής σε πρεσβεία και γ) η επιλογή των θέσεων στις οποίες ο Θεόφιλος έκτισε τις τρεις χριστιανικές εκκλησίες στην Ευδαίμονα Αραβία.[28]

Ο Θεόφιλος ήταν άνθρωπος ευσεβής και γνώστης των πραγμάτων της ευρύτερης περιοχής γιατί, όπως αναφέρει ο Φιλοστόργιος, καταγόταν από τη γειτονική της Υεμένης νήσο Διβούς.[29] Η αναβάθμιση της ιεραποστολής σε πρεσβεία έγινε για να δικαιολογήσει ο αυτοκράτορας την αποστολή πολυτελών δώρων προς τον εθνάρχη των Ομηριτών με βασική επιδίωξη τη μεταστροφή του στο Χριστιανισμό[30] και ακολούθως τον εκχριστιανισμό του λαού του. Είναι, τέλος, σαφή τα κριτήρια για την επιλογή των θέσεων στις οποίες κτίσθηκαν οι εκκλησίες αλλά και ο ρόλος των ιεραποστόλων που ξεπερνούσε συνήθως τα θρησκευτικά πλαίσια. Η πρώτη κτίσθηκε στην Τάφαρο, «μητρόπολη» του έθνους, η δεύτερη στην Αδάνη, λιμάνι όπου αγκυροβολούσαν τα πλοία των Ρωμαίων εμπόρων, και η τρίτη, που είναι και η πιο αξιοπρόσεκτη, στην είσοδο του Περσικού κόλπου, στο επίκεντρο δηλαδή των περσικών συμφερόντων, εφόσον εκεί διεξαγόταν κυρίως το περσικό εμπόριο. Η δημιουργία οργανωμένων χριστιανικών κοινοτήτων στα παραπάνω κρίσιμα γεωγραφικά σημεία θα διευκόλυνε τις εμπορικές συναλλαγές των Ρωμαίων εμπόρων και θα ενίσχυε σημαντικά την πολιτική επιρροή της Αυτοκρατορίας στην περιοχή.[31] Η προστασία των εμπόρων, που, όπως μαρτυρείται από τις πηγές, αποτελεί κοινό τόπο για Αιθιοπία και Υεμένη, διευκόλυνε και δικαιολογούσε τη θρησκευτική προσέγγισή τους, ενώ το ίδιο το εμπόριο εξελίχθηκε, όπως τονί-

28. «*τῶν δὲ ἐκκλησιῶν μίαν μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μητροπόλει τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους Τάφαρον ὀνομαζομένῃ καθιδρύσατο· ἑτέραν δὲ ἐν ᾧ τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἐμπόριον ἐτύγχανεν ἔξω πρὸς τὸν Ὠκεανὸν τετραμμένον· καλοῦσι δὲ τὸ χωρίον Ἀδάνην, ἔνθα καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Ῥωμαίων ἀφικνουμένους ἔθος ἦν καθορμίζεσθαι· τὴν δὲ τρίτην ἐπὶ θάτερον τῆς χώρας μέρος, ἐν ᾧ Περσικὸν ἐμπόριον γνωρίζεται ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τῆς ἐκεῖσε Περσικῆς κείμενον θαλάσσης*» (Φιλοστόργιος, *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία*, III 4, 17-23, ό.π., 34).

29. Στο ίδιο, 33.

30. «*Ὁ μέντοι Κωνσταντῖνος, μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ εἰς τὸ μάλιστα κεχαρισμένον τὴν πρεσβείαν στέλλων, καὶ ἵππους εἰς διακοσίους τῶν ἐκ Καππαδοκίας εὐγενεστάτων ἱππαγωγοῖς πλοίοις κομιζομένους καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας δωρεάς εἰς τὸ πολυτελέστατον θαῦμα παρασχεῖν καὶ θελκτηρίους συνεξέπεμψεν*» (Φιλοστόργιος, *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία* III 4, 1-5, ό.π., 34).

31. Βλ. Πατούρα, «Διάδοση», 218-219.

ζει ο Λέτσιος, «σε στοιχείο πολιτικής διείσδυσης».[32] Στο σημείο αυτό πρέπει να επισημανθεί ότι τα ιδεολογικά προσχήματα που χρησιμοποιούσε την εποχή εκείνη η βυζαντινή Αυτοκρατορία για διεθνείς παρεμβάσεις δεν απέχουν πολύ από αυτά που χρησιμοποιούν στις μέρες μας οι μεγάλες δυνάμεις για να εξασφαλίσουν τον έλεγχο ή την άσκηση της επιρροής τους σε περιοχές ή χώρες με ιδιαίτερη πολιτική, στρατηγική ή οικονομική βαρύτητα.

Τον 6ο αιώνα η χριστιανική πολιτική θεωρία για τη θεϊκή προέλευση της Αυτοκρατορίας και την εξ αυτής απορρέουσα παγκόσμια επικυριαρχία διατυπώνεται από περισσότερους συγγραφείς (εκκλησιαστικούς και μη), ενώ η πολιτική πρακτική αυτής της ιδεολογίας αποκτά πλέον πιο συγκεκριμένες μορφές έκφρασης στην εφαρμογή της. Ο χριστιανός γεωγράφος Κοσμάς ο Ινδικοπλεύστης και ο μεγάλος ιστορικός της εποχής του Ιουστινιανού Προκόπιος αποτελούν τους κυριότερους εκφραστές της χριστιανικής πολιτικής ιδεολογίας αυτής της εποχής, ο πρώτος στο θεωρητικό πεδίο και ο δεύτερος στην πολιτική πρακτική. Μέσα από τις αλλεπάλληλες προφητείες, τις οποίες ο Κοσμάς αποδίδει στον Δανιήλ, για την κατάλυση όλων των Αυτοκρατοριών μέχρι την έλευση του Χριστού, για την ταύτιση της βασιλείας του με τη χριστιανική ρωμαϊκή Αυτοκρατορία, για την διεύρυνση των ορίων της μέσα από την τιμή, την βασιλεία και την εξουσία του Κυρίου, αλλά και των λαών, των φυλών και των γλωσσών που θα τον υπηρετούν,[33] ο χριστιανός κοσμογράφος ενισχύει ακόμη περισσότερο το ιδεολογικό υπόβαθρο της χριστιανικής πολιτικής θεωρίας του Ευσέβιου, η οποία κατά την βασιλεία του Ιουστίνου και του Ιουστινιανού θ' αποκτήσει ορατές πλέον μορφές έκφρασης.

Η φράση του Βλεμμύδη *Βασιλεία μὲν οὖν εἰκονίζει κράτος Θεοῦ*, στην οποία ήδη αναφερθήκαμε,[34] συνιστά παράδοση που ανάγεται σε πολύ προγενέστερες εποχές και διατυπώνεται με ιδιαίτερη έμφαση τον 6ο αιώνα. Ο ίδιος ο Ιουστινιανός αναφέρει στον πρόλογο της 6ης Νεαράς του: ...*μέγιστα ἐν*

32. Λέτσιος, *Βυζάντιο*, 180.

33. «*Εἶτα πάλιν ἐν μὲν τῇ εἰκόνι φησί· "Καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν βασιλέων ἐκείνων ἀναστήσει ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ βασιλείαν, ἥτις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας οὐ διαφθαρήσεται, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ λαῷ ἑτέρῳ οὐχ ὑπολειφθήσεται", καὶ ἀναστήσεται εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ... Καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόθη ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία καὶ πάντες οἱ λαοί, φυλαί, γλῶσσαι δουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ ..., ὅτι ἐρχομένου τοῦ Δεσπότου Χριστοῦ ἐκεῖναι μὲν αἱ βασιλεῖαι παρελεύσονται καὶ καταλυθήσονται, ἡ δὲ τούτου βασιλεία ἀκατάλυτος ἔσται καὶ αἰώνιος*» (Κοσμάς Ινδικοπλεύστης, βιβλίο ΙΙ, 71, ό.π., 385-387).

34. Βλέπε πιο πάνω, σημ. 10.

ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ δῶρα Θεοῦ παρὰ τῆς ἄνωθεν δεδομένα φιλανθρωπίας, ἱερωσύνη τε καὶ βασιλεία[35] (κοσμική και εκκλησιαστική, δηλαδή, εξουσία), φιλοσοφική αρχή, η οποία διατυπώνεται σαφέστερα και στην Επαναγωγή, όπου ο Αυτοκράτορας και ο Πατριάρχης εμφανίζονται να ηγούνται δύο σαφώς διαφορετικών αλλά στενά συνδεδεμένων θεσμών, των οποίων η αρμονική συνύπαρξη και συνεργασία προσδίδει στην Αυτοκρατορία ισχύ, ειρήνη και ευημερία.[36]

Η μέθεξη της ρωμαϊκής βασιλείας στα αξιώματα της βασιλείας του «Δεσπότου Χριστού», χάρη στην οποία η πρώτη θα παραμείνει αήττητη «μέχρι της συντελείας»,[37] δικαιολογεί κατά τον Κοσμά τη συνύπαρξη και στενή συνεργασία των δύο κορυφαίων παραγόντων της εποχής, της Πολιτείας και της Εκκλησίας. Η επέκταση των ορίων της Αυτοκρατορίας –κεντρική άλλωστε πολιτική του Ιουστινιανού στο πλαίσιο της *Reconquista*– συνδέεται άμεσα από τον Ινδικοπλεύστη με τον Χριστιανισμό, προορισμός του οποίου ήταν, κατά τη θεία βούληση, να διευρυνθεί και όχι να περιορισθεί στα στενά όρια της Αυτοκρατορίας.[38]

Αυτός ο περίτεχνος ιδεολογικός ιστός καλύπτει τη συχνή και σχεδόν απροσχημάτιστη παρεμβατική πολιτική που άσκησε η βυζαντινή Αυτοκρατορία σε όλα τα μήκη και τα πλάτη του τότε γνωστού κόσμου, συμπεριλαμβανομένης, με ιδιαίτερη μάλιστα ένταση, της περιοχής της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης. Ο ρόλος του βυζαντινού αυτοκράτορα ως προστάτη όλων των χριστιανών του κόσμου αναγνωρίζεται την εποχή του Ιουστίνου και από τους δύο κορυφαίους εκείνη την εποχή παράγοντες της Εκκλησίας, ανατολικής και δυτικής, όπως προκύπτει από το περιεχόμενο των επιστολών 161 και 170 του πατριάρχη Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ιωάννη και του πάπα της Ρώμης Ορμίσδα που περιλαμβάνονται στην *Collectio Avellana*.[39]

35. Έκδ. R. Schöll - G. Kroll, *Novellae*, Βερολίνο 1895, σελ. 35.

36. *Επαναγωγή* 2, 8, έκδ. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Jus Graecoromanum*, 4, Λειψία 1865, 183.

37. «*ἀήττητος διαμένουσα μέχρι τῆς συντελείας*» (Κοσμάς Ινδικοπλεύστης, *Χριστιανική Τοπογραφία*, Βιβλίο ΙΙ, 75, ό.π., 391).

38. «*Θαρρῶν γὰρ ἀποφαίνομαι ὅτι, εἰ καὶ διὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας ἁμαρτίας πρὸς παιδείαν ὀλίγον ἐχθροὶ βάρβαροι τῇ Ῥωμανίᾳ ἐπανίστανται, ἀλλὰ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ διακρατοῦντος ἀήττητος διαμένει ἡ βασιλεία, ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ στενοῦσθαι τὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν, ἀλλὰ πλατύνεσθαι*» (Κοσμάς Ινδικοπλεύστης, *Χριστιανική Τοπογραφία*, Βιβλίο ΙΙ, ό.π., 391).

39. «Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum inde ab anno CCCLVII usque ad a. DLIII datae», έκδ. O. Günther, *Collectio Avellana*, Λειψία 1898, 612 και 627 αντίστοιχα.

Όσον αφορά τώρα την παρουσία του Βυζαντίου στο χώρο της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης τον 6ο αιώνα, αυτή συνίσταται, όπως τονίζει ο Λέτσιος στο βιβλίο του σε μία απευθείας πολιτική και διπλωματική επικοινωνία, σε μία εκτενή ιεραποστολική δραστηριότητα, στο ζωηρό εμπορικό ενδιαφέρον του και στην πρόθεσή του για άμεση στρατιωτική εμπλοκή.[40] Τα γεγονότα που προκάλεσαν την παρέμβαση του Βυζαντίου στην ευρύτερη περιοχή είναι γνωστά και μαρτυρούνται από κείμενα αγιολογικού κυρίως χαρακτήρα,[41] από ιστορικές, ελληνικές και αραβικές πηγές, καθώς και από επιγραφές. Στο επίκεντρο βέβαια αυτής της πολυσύνθετης παρουσίας βρίσκεται, κατά τις χριστιανικές πηγές, η προστασία των Χριστιανών της Νότιας Αραβίας που υφίστανται τον σκληρό διωγμό του ηγεμόνα της Δουνάά, γεγονός που αποτέλεσε και την αφορμή για την παρέμβαση της Αυτοκρατορίας με τις προαναφερόμενες προεκτάσεις. Επειδή η παρουσίαση και ανάλυση αυτών των γεγονότων έχουν γίνει αντικείμενο συστηματικής μελέτης από πολλούς σύγχρονους ιστορικούς και ερευνητές,[42] θα περιορισθώ στην ανάδειξη και αξιολόγηση κάποιων στοι-

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40. Λέτσιος, *Βυζάντιο*, 240.

41. Σημαντικότερα κείμενα είναι τα ακόλουθα: *Μαρτύριο του Αγ. Αρέθα* (ελληνικό κείμενο), έκδ. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, 5, Παρίσι 1883, 1-62. Λατινική μετάφραση του κειμένου και σχολιασμό βλ. E. Carpentier, *Acta Sanctorum Octobris X*, Παρίσι - Ρώμη 1869, 721-759. Νεότερη παραλλαγή βλ. Συμεών Μεταφραστής, *Μαρτύριον Αγίου Αρέθα*, έκδ. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 115, στ. 1249-1290. Ο Βίος του Αγίου Γρηγεντίου στο A. A. Vasiliev, «Ο Βίος του Αγ. Γρηγεντίου, επισκόπου των Ομηριτών» (στα ρωσικά), *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 14 (1907) 23-67, με εισαγωγή, κείμενο και ρωσική μετάφραση. Ακόμη, S. Gregentii Episc. Tapharensis Homeritarum Leges και S. Gregentii, Disrutatio cum Herbano Judaeo, *Patrologia Graeca* 86, στ. 567-620 και 621-784 αντίστοιχα. Βιβλίο των Ομηριτών, έκδ. A. Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites, Fragments of a hitherto Unknown Syriac Work*, Λουντ 1924.

42. Στη βασική βιβλιογραφία για το θέμα περιλαμβάνονται: A. A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First. An Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great*, Καίμπριτζ Μασσαχουσέτης 1950, κυρίως 283-302· B. Rubin, *Das zeitalter Iustinians*, Βερολίνο 1960, κυρίως το κεφάλαιο 8, 297-319· N. Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien* (Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten 36), Βερολίνο - Άμστερνταμ 1969· I. Shahîd, *The Martyrs of Najran. New Documents* (Subsidia Hagiographica 49)· του ιδίου, «Byzantium in South Arabia», *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979) 25-94· V. Christides, «The Himyarite-Ethiopian War and the Ethiopian Occupation of South Arabia in the Acts of Gregentius (ca. 530 A.D.)», *Annales d'Ethiopie* 9 (1972) 115-146· Engelhardt, *Mission*, 178-187· Λέτσιος, *Βυζάντιο*, 232-274· του ιδίου, «Die Äthiopisch-Himyaritischen Kriege des 6. Jahrhunderts und die Christianisierung Äthiopiens», *Jahrbuch der Österreicisches*

χείων που, και στην περίπτωση αυτή, μαρτυρούν το πνεύμα και την παγιωμένη πλέον αντίληψη της Αυτοκρατορίας στο «ελέω Θεού» δικαίωμά της για την διεκδίκηση της παγκόσμιας πολιτικής, οικονομικής και ιδεολογικής κυριαρχίας.

Ενδεικτική αυτής της αντίληψης είναι η άποψη που διατυπώνει και πάλι ο Κοσμάς ο Ινδικοπλεύστης –βασικός εκφραστής της παγκόσμιας χριστιανικής επικυριαρχίας του Βυζαντίου τον 6ο αιώνα– ότι η περσική Αυτοκρατορία βρίσκεται ιεραρχικά στη δεύτερη θέση των υπαρχουσών αυτοκρατοριών, μετά δηλαδή τη ρωμαϊκή.[43] Τη γενική θέση που παίρνει ο χριστιανός κοσμογράφος, στην οποία υποκρύπτεται ο οξύς ανταγωνισμός Περσίας - Βυζαντίου, συγκεκριμενοποιούν με κατηγορηματικό τρόπο, όπως θα δούμε παρακάτω, οι δύο ιστοριογράφοι του 6ου αιώνα Προκόπιος[44] και Μαλάλας, στην περιγραφή των γεγονότων που αναφέρονται στον αιθιοπικο-ομηριτικό πόλεμο.

Αναμφισβήτητα, ο διωγμός των χριστιανών της πόλης Najran της Νότιας Αραβίας, αποτέλεσε για τον Ιουστίνο την καλύτερη αφορμή για παρέμβαση στα πράγματα των χωρών της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης. Η παρέμβαση αυτή κατέστη εφικτή χάρη στις εξαιρετικές σχέσεις που είχε τότε το Βυζάντιο με τη γείτονα της Υεμένης χώρα, την ήδη εκχριστιανισμένη Αιθιοπία. Τον 5ο αιώνα, ο εκκλησιαστικός συγγραφέας Θεοδώρητος Κύρου συγκαταλέγει τους Αιθίοπες στους λαούς που «ασπάσθηκαν την Ρωμαίων δεσποτείαν», μαζί με τους Λαζούς, τους Σάννους, τους Αβασγούς, τις φυλές του Ισμαήλ και άλλους «βαρβάρους».[45] Η απόλυτη κηδεμονία της Αυτοκρατορίας στους Αιθίοπες γίνεται σαφέστερη από το γεγονός ότι ο βασιλιάς τους Ελλησθαίος έσπευσε μετά το τέλος του αιθιοπικο-ομηριτικού πολέμου να ενημερώσει σχετικά τον βυζαντινό αυτοκράτορα μέσω του βυζαντινού αξιωματούχου της Αλεξανδρείας Λικινίου: *καὶ ἐμηνύθη τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἰουστινιανῷ* [Ιουστίνω] *πάντα διὰ Λικινίου, αὐγουσταλίου Ἀλεξανδρείας*, αναφέρει ο Μαλάλας.[46]

Η εμπλοκή του Ιουστίνου στην προετοιμασία του πολέμου Αιθιόπων -

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Byzantinistik 41 (1991) 25-41· του ιδίου, «Some Remarks on Reflections of Byzantine Foreign Policy in the 'Martyrdom' of Arethas and the 'Acts' of Gregentius», *Graeco-Arabica* 4 (1991) 141-155.

43. Κοσμάς Ινδικοπλεύστης, *Χριστιανική Τοπογραφία*, Βιβλίο II,76, ό.π., 393.

44. Προκόπιος, *Υπέρ των Πολέμων* I, 19-20, έκδ. J. Haury - G. Wirth, *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, 1, Λειψία 1962, 100-110.

45. Θεοδώρητος Κύρου, *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία*, έκδ. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 83, στ. 1037.

Ομηριτών εντοπίζεται, κατά τις αγιολογικές πηγές (*Μαρτύριον του Αγίου Αρέθα* και *Βίος του Αγίου Γρηγεντίου*), στις οδηγίες που απηύθηνε στον μονοφυσίτη πατριάρχη Αλεξανδρείας Τιμόθεο να πείσει τον Ελλησθαίο της Αιθιοπίας να στραφεί κατά των Ομηριτών και να τον ενημερώσει για τις στρατιωτικές δυνάμεις που θα του έστελνε σε βοήθεια.[47] Ο ενεργός ρόλος και η αρμονική συνεργασία του μονοφυσίτη πατριάρχη και του ορθόδοξου αυτοκράτορα αναδεικνύουν την υπέρβαση των θρησκευτικών διαφορών που επιτυγχάνουν οι δύο κορυφαίες προσωπικότητες της εποχής για την εξυπηρέτηση άλλων γενικότερων κοινών συμφερόντων. Οι μαρτυρίες των ιστορικών Προκοπίου, Μαλάλα και Θεοφάνη δεν αφήνουν καμμιά αμφιβολία ως προς αυτό. Οι λόγοι που προκάλεσαν τη σύγκρουση ανάμεσα στον Ελλησθαίο της Αιθιοπίας και τον Δουναά της Νότιας Αραβίας ήταν η κακομεταχείρηση των βυζαντινών εμπόρων που ζούσαν και δρούσαν στη Νότια Αραβία και η δημιουργία σοβαρών προβλημάτων στο αιθιοπικό και κατ' επέκταση στο βυζαντινό εμπόριο[48]. Ακόμη όμως και ο συγγραφέας του Μαρτυρίου του Αγίου Αρέθα αναδεικνύει τη γεωγραφική θέση της χώρας των Ομηριτών για τον έλεγχο του εμπορίου και τη διακίνηση ορισμένων περιζήτητων προϊόντων της Ανατολής (*ἡ δὲ Ἰνδικὴ χώρα, ὅθεν τὰ ἀρώματα καὶ τὸ πίπερι καὶ ἡ μέταξις καὶ ὁ πολύτιμος μαργαρίτης ἐξέρχεται, ἀπέχει μονὰς τριάκοντα, ἡ δὲ Αἰθιοπία τοῦ Ὁμηρίτου μονὰς τριάκοντα*).[49] Σε συνάφεια με τις παραπάνω πληροφορίες για τις ευρύτερες διαστάσεις και τη σημασία της σύγκρουσης Αιθιόπων - Ομηριτών βρίσκονται και κάποιες άλλες πληροφορίες που περιέχονται στο Μαρτύριο του Αγίου Αρέθα και στον Βίο του Αγίου Γρηγεντίου για διπλωματικές ενέργειες στις οποίες προέβη τότε ο βασιλιάς των Ομηριτών, μέσω επιστολών που απέστειλε στον υποτελή στους Πέρσες ηγεμόνα των Αράβων της Hira, Αλαμούνδαρο, και τον ίδιο τον βασιλιά της Περσίας, ζητώντας προφα-

46. Μαλάλας, *Χρονογραφία*, έκδ. L. Dindorf, *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, Βόννη 1831, 434.

47. Αναλυτικές πληροφορίες περιέχονται στα ελληνικά κείμενα: *Μαρτύριον του Αγίου Αρέθα*, VI, ό.π., 743, 747, Συμεών Μεταφραστής, *Μαρτύριον*, ό.π., στ. 1280, και *Βίος Αγίου Γρηγεντίου*, ό.π., 60.

48. Μαλάλας, ό.π., 423, 433· Προκόπιος, *Υπέρ των Πολέμων*, Ι 20, ό.π., 108· Θεοφάνης, *Χρονογραφία*, έκδ. C. de Boor, *Theophanis Chronographia*, Λειψία 1885, 346. Πρβλ. Vasiliev, *Justin*, 290· Christides, «Himyarite-Ethiopian», 124· Averil Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, Λονδίνο 1985, 121.

49. *Μαρτύριον*, Ι(2), ό.π., στ. 722Β.

νώς την αρωγή τους.[50] Οι θρησκευτικές, επομένως, συγκρούσεις Αιθιόπων - Ομηριτών βρίσκονται, στην πραγματικότητα, στο περιθώριο ενός οξύτατου οικονομικού, κυρίως, ανταγωνισμού μεταξύ Βυζαντίου και Περσίας και των περιοχών που οι δυνάμεις αυτές ελέγχουν ή επηρεάζουν.

Οι ιστορικοί Προκόπιος και Μαλάλας, απαλλαγμένοι από τα θρησκευτικά συναισθήματα που διακατέχουν τους συγγραφείς των εκκλησιαστικών και αγιολογικών κειμένων, αποδίδουν την ιστορική πραγματικότητα της εποχής με ρεαλισμό, ενώ στην περίπτωση της πολιτικής που άσκησε το Βυζάντιο στο χώρο της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης ο λόγος τους είναι σχεδόν απροκάλυπτος. Ο Προκόπιος κύριος απολογητής και εκφραστής της πολιτικής του Ιουστινιανού στους *Πολέμους* και τα *Κτίσματα*, αποκαλύπτει τη σημασία της ιεραποστολικής του δράσης στην άσκηση της εξωτερικής αυτοκρατορικής πολιτικής και σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις, όπως για παράδειγμα σε αυτή που αφορά τους εκχριστιανισμούς των λαών της Βόρειας Αφρικής και της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης, δεν διστάζει να της προσδώσει τον χαρακτήρα και το περιεχόμενο που πραγματικά αυτή εμπεριέχει. Είναι αλήθεια ότι ο μεγάλος ιστοριογράφος του 6ου αιώνα, αναφερόμενος στον προσηλυτισμό ξένων λαών στον Χριστιανισμό, όπως για παράδειγμα των λαών του Καυκάσου και της Κριμαίας,[51] της Βόρειας Αφρικής και της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης ή εκείνων του Δούναβη, τονίζει περισσότερο τον πολιτικό, οικονομικό, κοινωνικό και στρατηγικό χαρακτήρα τους και λιγότερο ή καθόλου τον πνευματικό και θρησκευτικό.[52] Εντάσσει, δηλαδή, τις ιεραποστολές και τους εκχριστιανισμούς στο πλαίσιο των πολιτικο-διπλωματικών σχέσεων του Βυζαντίου με τους ξένους λαούς, συνδέοντας συχνά αυτές τις επιχειρήσεις με τον ρόλο που η πολιτική ιδεολογία της εποχής προσέδιδε στον Βυζαντινό αυτοκράτορα, εκείνον δηλαδή του προστάτη των κατατρεγμένων και αδικημένων του κόσμου. Ο Αγαπητός Διάκονος, ένας από τους κύριους εκφραστές της πολιτικής ιδεολογίας του 6ου αιώνα, στο «αυτοκρατορικό κάτοπτρο» του Ιουστινιανού τονίζει ότι ο βυζαντινός αυτοκράτορας ως «κυβερνήτης» του κόσμου –όρος συνειρμικός του σημερινού «πλανητάρχης»– οφείλει να αγρυπνεί και να προστατεύει *το σκάφος της παγκοσμίου πολιτείας* ώστε να μην περιπίπτει σε κύματα αδικίας.[53] Υπό την

50. Βλ. Λέτσιος, *Βυζάντιο*, 269.

51. Βλ. Σοφία Πατούρα, «Το Βυζάντιο και ο εκχριστιανισμός των λαών του Καυκάσου και της Κριμαίας (6ος αι.)», *Σύμμεικτα* 8 (1989) 405-434.

52. Βλ. Cameron, *Procopius*, 121

έννοια αυτή, ο Ιουστινιανός προέβη στον εκχριστιανισμό των Αβασγών του Καυκάσου για την επίλυση ενός κοινωνικού προβλήματος της χώρας τους, δηλαδή την ανακοπή του ευνουχισμού· επιχείρησε τον προσηλυτισμό των Τζάννων μετά τη στρατιωτική κατάκτηση της χώρας τους για τη δημιουργία υποδομών στη γεωργία και το οδικό δίκτυο· έπεισε τους Ερούλους του Δούναβη να ασπασθούν τον Χριστιανισμό για να μεταβάλουν «επί το ημερώτερον» τον τρόπο της ζωής τους[54] και συνέδεσε τον εκχριστιανισμό των λαών της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης με τα οικονομικά τους συμφέροντα.

Και ενώ στις άλλες περιπτώσεις ο συγγραφέας συγκαλύπτει, κατά κάποιο τρόπο, τις σκοπιμότητες που η Αυτοκρατορία καλλιεργεί μέσω των εκχριστιανισμών με το πρόσχημα ότι η παρέμβασή της γίνεται για την επίλυση δικών τους προβλημάτων, οι αφηγήσεις του για τους εκχριστιανισμούς των λαών της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης εντυπωσιάζουν τον αναγνώστη για τον πολιτικό τους ρεαλισμό και τις πραγματικές αυτοκρατορικές διαθέσεις. Με την εισαγωγική του πρόταση στο κεφ. 19 του πρώτου Βιβλίου των Ιστοριών του ο Προκόπιος μας μεταφέρει αμέσως στο πνεύμα της πολιτικής που άσκησε ο Ιουστινιανός στον ευρύ χώρο της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης και στον κορυφαίο στόχο που μέσω αυτής επεδίωκε. *Έννοια δὲ τότε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Ὁμηρίτας ἐπί τῷ Περσῶν πονηρῷ ἑταιρίσασθαι.*[55] Και μετά από μία μακρά παρέκβαση στην οποία αναφέρεται στον αιθιοπικο-ομηριτικό πόλεμο που είχε προηγηθεί[56], επανέρχεται στο θέμα και επεξηγεί με σαφήνεια και ωμό ρεαλισμό όχι μόνο τις σκέψεις του Ιουστινιανού για την πολιτική που προτίθετο ν' ακολουθήσει στο χώρο της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης αλλά και την εφαρμογή συγκεκριμμένων ενεργειών, μέσω των οποίων πίστευε ότι θα την υπηρετούσε. Έστειλε στους βασιλείς των Αιθιόπων και των Ομηριτών Ελλησθεαίο και Εσιμιφαίο τον πρεσβευτή Ιουλιανό και τους ζήτησε να πάρουν μέρος, ως ομόδοξοί του ηγεμόνες στον πόλεμο εναντίον των Περσών. Στόχος του ήταν, όπως εκτιμά ο Προκόπιος, από τη μία, οι Αιθίοπες να αγοράζουν μετάξι από την Ινδία και να το μεταπωλούν στους Ρωμαίους, κερδίζοντας με αυτόν τον τρόπο πολλά χρήματα, και από την άλλη οι Ρωμαίοι να μην δίνουν πλέον τα χρήματά τους στους Πέρσες, από τους οποίους αγόραζαν, προφανώς,

53. Αγαπητός Διάκονος, *Έκθεσις Κεφαλαίων Παραινετικών*, έκδ. R. Riedinger, *Agapetos Diakonos, Der Fürsten-Spiegel für Kaiser Iustinianus*, Αθήνα 1995, 26.

54. Βλ. Πατούρα, «Βυζάντιο», 416-420, 427-429.

55. Προκόπιος, *Υπέρ των Πολέμων*, I 20, ό.π., 100.

56. Στο ίδιο, 100-108.

μέχρι τότε το μετάξι. Από τους Ομηρίτες ζήτησε, επιπλέον, να ορίσουν φύλαρχο των Μαδδηνών τον εξόριστο Καϊσό και με πολυάριθμο στρατό από Ομηρίτες και Μαδδηνούς Σαρακηνούς να εισβάλουν στο περσικό έδαφος.[57]

Το περιεχόμενο αυτής της αποστολής αποσαφηνίζει πλήρως την πολιτική που ο Ιουστινιανός επιδιώκει να εφαρμόσει στην περιοχή της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης και τα σχέδια που μέσω αυτής επιχειρεί να υπηρετήσει. Και αυτά δεν είναι άλλα από την επέκταση της οικονομικής κυριαρχίας της Αυτοκρατορίας σε λαούς και περιοχές που βρίσκονται μακράν και πέραν των πολιτικών της συνόρων. Οι διπλωματικοί του χειρισμοί για την επίτευξη αυτού του στόχου επικεντρώνονται σε δύο, κυρίως, στοιχεία: από τη μία *τὸ τῆς δόξης ὁμόγνωμον* και από την άλλη το κέρδος *χρημάτων μεγάλων*,[58] επιχειρήματα που μπορούν ν' αγγίξουν ταυτόχρονα το νου και την καρδιά των συνομιλητών του. Την μαρτυρία του Προκοπίου επιβεβαιώνει και ο Μαλάλας ο οποίος μιλάει με μεγαλύτερη ακρίβεια για τον τρόπο με τον οποίο το Βυζάντιο πιστεύει ότι μπορεί να σπάσει το περσικό μονοπώλιο στο εμπόριο του μεταξιού. Αναφερόμενος στην ίδια πρεσβεία, τονίζει πως βασική επιδίωξή της ήταν να ξεσηκώσει τους Αιθίοπες εναντίον των Περσών και να περιορίσει τις συναλλαγές μαζί τους (*καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μηκέτι συνάλλαγμα ποιῆσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλά δι' ἧς ὑπέταξε χώρας τῶν Ἀμεριτῶν Ἰνδῶν διὰ τοῦ Νείλου ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τὴν πραγματείαν ποιεῖσθαι*).[59] Έχουμε, ουσιαστικά, ταύτιση απόψεων των δύο συγγραφέων ως προς τα κίνητρα της πολιτικής που ασκούσε εκείνη την εποχή η Αυτοκρατορία στις χώρες της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης, με βασικό μοχλό πίεσης την προστασία των Χριστιανών και την ευρύτερη διάδοση του Χριστιανισμού.

Η εξομάλυνση των σχέσεων των λαών της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης, που ήλθε σαν αποτέλεσμα της κοινής τους πίστης, διευκόλυνε σε μεγάλο βαθμό τα σχέδια της Αυτοκρατορίας. Ο Ιουστινιανός, που κατά τον Προκόπιο, *γῆν ἅπασαν ξυλλαβεῖν ἐπεθύμησεν* [60], επεδίωκε με κάθε τρόπο και μέσο να σπάσει το περσικό μονοπώλιο στο εμπόριο της μετάξης και να επεκτείνει τους οικονομικούς ορίζοντες της Αυτοκρατορίας, σε Νότο και Ανατολή. Για την επίτευξη αυτού του στόχου, εκτός από τον Χριστιανισμό, η Αυτοκρατορία διέθετε, την εποχή εκείνη, και ένα άλλο μεγάλο όπλο. Ο Κοσμάς ο Ινδικοπλεύστης μιλά-

57. Στο ίδιο, 108-109.

58. Στο ίδιο, 108-109.

59. Μαλάλας, *Χρονογραφία*, ό.π., 458.

60. Προκόπιος, *Υπέρ των Πολέμων*, II 2, ό.π., 152.

ει με ξεχωριστή περηφάνεια για την παγκόσμια αγοραστική και συναλλακτική ισχύ του βυζαντινού νομίσματος. Το συνδέει και πάλι με την εύνοια του Θεού προς τους χριστιανούς Ρωμαίους που κατέχουν τα πρωτεία στην αποδοχή του χριστιανικού κηρύγματος, δίδοντας είτε από πεποίθηση είτε από σκοπιμότητα, σ' ένα καθαρά υλικό μέσο επικυριαρχίας των Βυζαντινών ιδεολογικές και πνευματικές προεκτάσεις. Παραθέτω ολόκληρο το σχετικό απόσπασμα από το δεύτερο βιβλίο του Ινδικοπλεύστη, το οποίο, σημειωτέον, θα μπορούσε να είχε διατυπωθεί με τον ίδιο ακριβώς τρόπο προκειμένου να περιγράψει το ισχυρό, ακόμη, στις μέρες μας, σε παγκόσμια κλίμακα, νόμισμα, το γνωστό μας δολάριο: *Ἕτερον δὲ σημεῖον δυναστείας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὃ αὐτοῖς κεχάρισται ὁ Θεός, λέγω δὴ ὅτι ἐν τῷ νομίσματι αὐτῶν ἐμπορεύονται πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ἀπ' ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου γῆς δεκτόν ἐστι, θαυμαζόμενον παρὰ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου καὶ πάσης βασιλείας, ὅπερ ἑτέρᾳ βασιλείᾳ οὐχ ὑπάρχει τὸ τοιοῦτο.*[61]

Την ίδια εποχή, στο περιθώριο της ευρείας ανακτητικής πολιτικής του Ιουστινιανού, επιχειρείται και η ιδεολογική κατάκτηση της Νουβίας, μίας χώρας με ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον για την Αυτοκρατορία, όχι μόνο γιατί γειτνίαζε με την Αίγυπτο, αλλά κυρίως γιατί στα εδάφη της περιέκλειε πολλά μικρότερα βασίλεια και λαούς, άλλους φιλικά και άλλους εχθρικά διακείμενους προς την Αυτοκρατορία, με ξεχωριστή πάντως πολιτική και οικονομική βαρύτητα αφού επηρέαζαν, οικονομικά και πολιτικά, άλλους νοτιότερους αφρικανικούς λαούς.[62] Οι πηγές που μας πληροφορούν για τις βυζαντινές ιεραποστολές και το έργο που επιτέλεσαν στα βασίλεια της Νουβίας (ο Ιωάννης Εφέσου[63] κατά κύριο λόγο και ο Προκόπιος[64]) αποκαλύπτουν τον σύνθετο, και σε αυτή την περίπτω-

61. Κοσμάς Ινδικοπλεύστης, *Χριστιανική Τοπογραφία*, Βιβλίο II 77, ό.π., 393-395.

62. Η σημαντικότερη βιβλιογραφία για την παρουσία του Βυζαντίου στη Νουβία και τους εκχριστιανισμούς των Νοβάδων είναι η ακόλουθη: W. H. C. Frend, «Nubia as an Outpost of Byzantine Cultural Influence», *Byzantinoslavica* 29 (1968) 319-326· του ιδίου, «The Mission to Nubia. An Episode in the Struggle for Power in the Sixth Century Byzantium», *Travaux du Centre d'Archeologie Mediterranéenne de l'Academie Polonaise des Sciences* 16 (1975) 10-16· G. Vantini, *Christianity in the Sudan*, Μπολώνια 1981· V. Christides, «The Image of the Sudanese in Byzantine Sources», *Byzantinoslavica* 43 (1982) 8-17· Engelhardt, *Mission*, 51-79, και Λέτσιος, *Βυζάντιο*, 274-289.

63. Ιωάννης Εφέσου, *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία*, IV, 6-8, έκδ. E. W. Brooks, *Johannis Ephesini Historia Ecclesiastica pars tertia*, Λουβαίν 1936, 49-53.

ση, χαρακτήρα τους. Όπως λέει χαρακτηριστικά ο Δ. Λέτσιος, «η ιεραποστολή στη Νουβία λειτουργεί παράλληλα με την εξωτερική πολιτική και ορισμένες φορές συμπλέκεται με οικονομικά και εμπορικά συμφέροντα».[65] Εδώ δεν θα αναφερθούμε ούτε στα πρόσωπα που ενεπλάκησαν ή πρωταγωνίστησαν σε αυτή την υπόθεση ούτε σε αυτή καθεαυτή τη δράση τους γιατί είναι θέματα γνωστά και αρκετά μελετημένα. Αξίζει, ωστόσο, να σταθούμε λίγο στον Προκόπιο, ο οποίος, όπως και στις προηγούμενες περιπτώσεις προσδίδει στις ιεραποστολές της Νουβίας χαρακτήρα πολιτικό και διπλωματικό.[66] Όπως φαίνεται, αδιαφορεί πλήρως για το δόγμα στο οποίο προσηλυτίστηκαν οι λαοί της και δεν ασκεί την παραμικρή κριτική στη Θεοδώρα για την στήριξη που παρέσχε στην μονοφυσιτική ιεραποστολή της Νουβίας με συνέπεια μάλιστα την επικράτηση εκεί του μονοφυσιτισμού.[67] Ο ιστορικός του Ιουστινιανού στέκεται ιδιαίτερα στο στοιχείο της αναβίωσης μίας ρωμαϊκής παράδοσης που αφορά την περιοχή, περί κοινής πίστης και ομοδοξίας των Ρωμαίων με τους γειτονικούς βαρβαρικούς λαούς, κάνοντας αναφορά στον Διοκλητιανό ο οποίος είχε ιδρύσει στην νήσο Φίλαι κοινά ιερά για Ρωμαίους και βαρβάρους.[68] Την ενέργεια του Ιουστινιανού να καταστρέψει τα ιερά των Φιλών και να τα μετατρέψει σε χριστιανικούς ναούς, την ερμηνεύει ως συνέχεια αυτής της παράδοσης.[69]

Επίσης, φαίνεται πως τόσο τον Προκόπιο όσο και τον αυτοκράτορα που

64. Προκόπιος, *Υπέρ των Πολέμων* I 19, ό.π., 104-106.

65. Λέτσιος, *Βυζάντιο*, 274.

66. Βλ. Engelhardt, *Mission*, 52-56, και Λέτσιος, *Βυζάντιο*, 287-289.

67. Ο Προκόπιος στα *Ανέκδοτα* αναφέρεται στη δογματική διαφορά Ιουστινιανού - Θεοδώρας, σημειώνοντας, ωστόσο, σε άλλο σημείο, ότι κανείς από τους δύο δεν προέβαινε σε καμμία ενέργεια χωρίς να το γνωρίζει ο άλλος (Προκόπιος, *Ανέκδοτα*, κεφ. 10, έκδ. J. Haury - G Wirth, *Procopius III, Historia Arcana*, Λειψία 1963, 65-70). Κατά τα λεγόμενα, λοιπόν, του Προκοπίου και παρά την κακόβουλη κριτική που ασκεί στο συγκεκριμένο έργο, ο Ιουστινιανός θα πρέπει να ήταν ενήμερος για τη μονοφυσιτική ιεραποστολή που πραγματοποιήθηκε στη Νουβία με πρωτοβουλία της Θεοδώρας, ενώ ο ίδιος ο συγγραφέας δεν φαίνεται να ενοχλείται από το πολιτικό και διπλωματικό παιχνίδι του αυτοκρατορικού ζεύγους.

68. Προκόπιος, *Υπέρ των Πολέμων* I, 19, ό.π., 105-106.

69. «*κοινούς τινας ἐνταῦθα νεώς τε καὶ βωμοὺς Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τούτοις δὴ κατεστήσατο τοῖς βαρβάροις, καί ἱεροῖς ἑκάστων ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τούτῳ ἱδρύσατο, ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι τῷ μετέχειν τῶν ἱερῶν σφίσιν οἰόμενος. (...) ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἐν Φίλαις ἱερὰ οὗτοι δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς αὐτὰ Ἰουστινιανὸς καθελεῖν ἔγνω*» (Υπέρ των *Πολέμων* I 19, ό.π., 106).

εκπροσωπεί, τους ενδιαφέρει, και σ' αυτή την περίπτωση, η ένταξη των λαών της Νουβίας στην ιδεολογική σφαίρα επιρροής του Βυζαντίου και τα εξ αυτής προερχόμενα πολιτικά και οικονομικά οφέλη. Εδώ πρέπει να επισημανθεί όχι μόνο η άσκηση φιλελεύθερης θρησκευτικής πολιτικής, η ανοχή δηλαδή του ορθόδοξου αυτοκράτορα στην ευρεία διάδοση του μονοφυσιτισμού, αλλά και η ταυτόχρονη σχεδόν αποστολή ορθόδοξων ιεραποστόλων, νοτιότερα της Νουβίας στο βασίλειο της Μακουρίας, με σκοπό τη διεύρυνση του ιδεολογικού της δικτύου, ανεξαρτήτως δόγματος.[70] Με άλλα λόγια, οι ιεραποστολές που πραγματοποιήθηκαν ανάμεσα στους λαούς νοτίως της Αιγύπτου δεν είχαν περιεχόμενο δογματικό, ενώ οι σκοποί που επεδίωκαν, μέσω αυτών, οι πρόξενοι αυτών των αποστολών –στην προκειμένη περίπτωση ο Ιουστινιανός και η Θεοδώρα– ήταν κατ'εξοχήν πολιτικοί με οικονομικές και ιδεολογικές προεκτάσεις.

Η παγκόσμια ιδεολογική επικυριαρχία της Αυτοκρατορίας που αναπτύχθηκε και καλλιεργήθηκε, λόγω και έργω, σ' όλη τη διάρκεια της πρώιμης βυζαντινής περιόδου, με ιδιαίτερη όμως ένταση τον 6ο αιώνα, εκφράζεται περίφημα στην παρακάτω διαπίστωση που έκανε ο Κοσμάς ο Ινδικοπλεύστης, μετά το τέλος των ταξιδιών του: *Καὶ ὁρῶμεν τὰς ἐκβάσεις πάντων γενομένας –διωκόμενοι γάρ ποτε πάνυ οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἰουδαίων νενικήκασι καὶ τοὺς διώκοντας εἰς ἑαυτοὺς εἵκυσαν– ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ποτὲ μὴ καταβαλλομένην, ἀλλὰ πληθυνομένην, καὶ ὁμοίως πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τῆς Διδασκαλίας τοῦ Δεσπότου Χριστοῦ πληρωθεῖσαν καὶ ἔτι πληρουμένην, καὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον κηρυττόμενον ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ.*[71]

Η χριστιανίζουσα άποψη του Κοσμά για την κατάκτηση όλης της γης από την διδασκαλία του *Δεσπότου Χριστοῦ* δεν αποτελεί παρά το ιδεολογικό επικάλυμμα μίας ρεαλιστικής πολιτικής που άσκησε η Αυτοκρατορία εκείνη την εποχή, ως κορυφαία δύναμη του τότε γνωστού κόσμου για παγκόσμια επικυριαρχία. Όλα τα στοιχεία που συνθέτουν την εικόνα των εκχριστιανισμών στο πρώιμο Βυζάντιο –άμεση εμπλοκή του Βυζαντινού αυτοκράτορα και ανοχή απέναντι στο δόγμα που διαδίδεται, εκμετάλλευση του θρησκευτικού στοιχείου για πολιτικο-στρατιωτικές παρεμβάσεις και εξυπηρέτηση οικονομικών

70. Βλ. L. P. Kirwan, «Some Thoughts on the Conversion of Nubia to Christianity», στο: *Nubian Studies, Proceedings of the Symposium for Nubian Studies*, Καίμπριτζ 1978, 142, και Λέτσιος, *Βυζάντιο*, 284-286.

71. Κοσμάς Ινδικοπλεύστης, *Χριστιανική Τοπογραφία*, Βιβλίο III, 64, ό.π., 503.

συμφερόντων υπό το πρόσχημα της προστασίας των ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων ή της επίλυσης κοινωνικών ζητημάτων– αποδίδουν το στίγμα της κυρίαρχης πολιτικής ιδεολογίας της εποχής. Το στοιχείο του έντονου οικονομικού ιμπεριαλισμού που εμπεριέχεται στο σύνολο της πολιτικής της στο χώρο της Αφρικής και της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης, αναδεικνύει ακόμη περισσότερο την ιδεολογία της παγκοσμιότητας της Αυτοκρατορίας. Θα μπορούσε κανείς να ισχυρισθεί –τηρουμένων πάντοτε των αναλογιών– ότι το φαινόμενο επαναλαμβάνεται στις μέρες μας και παρόμοιο πνεύμα εκφράζεται μέσα από τη γνωστή και αμφιλεγόμενη πλέον πολιτική κοσμοθεωρία της «παγκοσμιοποίησης». Την ιδεολογία της παγκοσμιότητας της Αυτοκρατορίας που χαρακτηρίζει το πρώιμο Βυζάντιο θα την διαδεχθεί, κατά τη Μέση και Ύστερη βυζαντινή εποχή, εκείνη της Οικουμενικότητας της Ορθοδοξίας.

M. Rassart-Debergh

A PROPOS DES ICONES D'ÉGYPTE. ORIGINE ET USAGES

C'est pour moi un très grand honneur d'être associée à l'hommage fait au professeur V. Christidès et de résumer ici la communication présentée[1] à Chypre en mai 1996 sur les plus anciennes icônes d'Égypte.

Le sens donné au mot le mot grec Εικων a évolué au cours des temps. Dans le monde classique, il désignait une image, portative ou fixe, quelles qu'en soient la matière, la technique et le culte qui lui était rendu.[2] L'usage moderne l'applique surtout aux panneaux mobiles,

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1. Mon départ pour l'Égypte n'avait pas permis de rentrer mon intervention pour la publier dans les actes du "Sixth International Congress on Graeco-Oriental and African Studies. Nicosia (Cyprus), April 30 to May 5, 1996".

2. Sur le sens du mot, son évolution, voyez, par exemple, les articles: H. Leclercq, "Images (Culte et querelle des)", *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, 7/1, Paris 1926, col. 180-302; "Mosaikkunst und Malerei" (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne), "Ikonenmalerei" et "Ägypten" (W. F. Volbach), dans W. F. Volbach - J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzanz und der christliche Osten* (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 3), Berlin 1968, respectivement aux 143-151, 178-182, 354-360; "Image", dans *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Christianisme Ancien*, 1, Paris 1990, 1212-1218 (sp. les pages traitant de l'utilisation et du culte des images). On se reportera également aux ouvrages généraux sur les icônes, qui souvent évoquent rapidement celles d'Égypte chrétienne: ainsi, par exemple, K. Onasch, *Die Ikonenmalerei. Grundzuge einer systematischen Darstellung*, Leipzig 1968, ou encore K. Weitzmann - G. Alibegasvili - A. Volskaja - G. Babic. M. Chatzidakis - M. Alpatov - T. Voinescu - W. Nyssen, *Die Ikonen*, Fribourg - Bâle - Vienne 1982, sp. 5-6.

peints sur bois (à la détrempe ou à l'encaustique) et à ceux, - beaucoup plus rares, - taillés dans la pierre ou encore ciselés dans le métal; de plus, ce terme est réservé aux seules oeuvres chrétiennes. Le monde chrétien frappé par la crise iconoclaste n'a guère gardé d'exemplaires antérieurs au VIIIe siècle, à l'exception de l'Égypte.[3] Outre, la rareté, l'intérêt des icônes d'Égypte réside, je pense, dans le fait qu'elles se rattachent par leur style comme par leur technique au monde gréco-romain et qu'elles s'inscrivent dans une longue tradition religieuse. C'est cette continuité que j'aimerais rapidement souligner ici.

I. L'aspect technique

Les matériaux et les techniques employés aux époques pharaonique, romaine et copte montrent de fortes ressemblances.[4] La plupart des remarques d'A. Badawy[5] ont été confirmées tant par les récentes constatations *in situ*[6] que par les analyses réalisées en laboratoire. Les résultats de celles menées à Bruxelles tant sur des fragments de peintures murales[7] que sur des bois,[8] les recherches effectuées sur des objets de diverses provenances conservés au musée du Louvre[9] comme les études globales de Daniel Le Fur à Karnak[10] montrent la grande similitude entre les peintures des époques pharaonique et chrétienne.

De son côté, Zuzana Skalova, familière des icônes coptes, constatait: "La plupart des icônes fabriquées en Égypte présentent des caractéristiques techniques très particulières que l'on peut facilement rattacher aux techniques et aux matériaux traditionnels de l'art pharaonique [...]";[11] cette théorie et les problèmes que soulève leur conservation firent l'objet de la communication qu'elle rédigea pour le Ve Congrès International des Études coptes à Washington D.C.[12] Lors du dernier congrès de l'IACS, à Leiden en septembre 2000, elle organisa une table ronde sur ce sujet.

II. La situation

Aucun spécialiste de l'Égypte tardive n'ignore le rôle capital des

3. En 1990, la revue *Le Monde Copte* décida de consacrer un dossier aux icônes d'Égypte, de leur origine à nos jours; l'abondance du matériel conduisit à la publication de deux volumes: *L'icône copte*, 1. *A travers les âges*, Limoges 1990 (*Le Monde Copte* 18) et *L'icône copte*, 2. *L'iconographie copte contemporaine*, Limoges 1991 (*Le Monde Copte* 19). Tout récemment, un nouveau volume a vu le jour; consacré au célèbre artiste égyptien Isaac Fanous, il comporte aussi un résumé des informations contenues dans le dossier double: A Sadek - B. Sadek, *L'Incarnation de la Lumière. Le renouveau iconographique copte à travers l'oeuvre d'Isaac Fanous*, Limoges 2000 (*Le Monde Copte* 29-31).

4. *Status quaestionis*: M. Rassart-Debergh, *Palette égyptienne. De la peinture romaine au décor des monastères coptes*. Autour de l'exposition du CIAM à l'Abbaye de Saint-Savin du 29 mai au 1er novembre 1998, avec la collaboration de Cl. Coupry et N. Thierry, *Solidarité-Orient, bulletin* 206 et 207, Ath 1998.

5. Voyez, par exemple: Al. Badawy, *L'art copte. Les influences égyptiennes*, Le Caire 1949.

6. Nos collègues polonais ont remarqué que les peintures de Faras, en Nubie, témoignaient d'un retour aux principes de la peinture égyptienne d'époque pharaonique. Première mise au point pour les peintures des Kellia: M. Rassart-Debergh, "Peinture copte. Premières constatations", dans "*Pictores per Prouincias*", *Actes du 3e colloque international sur la peinture murale romaine, Avenches, 28-31 août 1986* (Aventicum 5, Cahiers d'Archéologie Romande 43), Avenches 1987, 93-101.

7. Diverses analyses (microsonde, microscopie électronique, diffraction X) ont été réalisées en laboratoire sur des objets conservés aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles et sur des échantillons de peintures des Kellia. Un résumé des études de L. Kockaert, alors chef de travaux à l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique de Bruxelles, sur les fragments kelliotes a été publié dans Rassart-Debergh, *Palette égyptienne* (cité n. 4), 2ème partie, 24. De son côté, Claude Coupry (CNRS-Thiais, Paris) a réalisé diverses analyses par microspectrométrie Raman dont elle a donné un aperçu: "A propos des couleurs" aux p. 26-27 du même ouvrage; une étude plus complète devrait paraître dans les *Études Coptes* VII en préparation.

8. On trouvera les résultats des analyses de L. Kockaert dans le catalogue des *Objets tardifs et chrétiens d'Égypte* que je prépare pour les Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles.

9. D. Le Fur, M.-H. Rutschowscaya - A. Desprairies - P. Tremblay, "Les pigments dans la peinture copte", dans *Conservation-restauration des biens culturels* (décembre 1990) 45-50; y sont présentées les études sur des toiles peintes et des chapiteaux, ainsi que sur des peintures murales du monastère de Saint-Siméon à Assouan et de la basilique de Dendera.

10. D. Le Fur, *La conservation des peintures murales des temples de Karnak*, Paris 1994.

11. Z. Skalova, "Les vicissitudes des icônes: problèmes de conservation en Égypte", dans *L'icône copte* 1 (cité n. 3), 111-124, sp. 120.

12. Son texte lu *in abstentio* par son collègue Johannes den Hiejer n'a malheureusement pas été publié (cf. *Le Monde Copte* 23, Limoges 1993, 123). On espère qu'un compte rendu du Workshop de Leiden sera publié dans les actes de ce colloque.

concepts religieux de l'époque pharaonique. Durant toute cette période, les Égyptiens ont eu à coeur d'honorer tout spécialement leurs morts et on retrouve ce même souci par la suite. Dans les édifices et dans les habitations d'époque romaine, on voit donc souvent des niches creusées dans la paroi: la plus importante à l'architecture élaborée est encadrée de plus petites, au décor plus simple; la plus grande abrite une figuration d'un défunt ou d'un dieu à qui un culte était rendu,[13] parfois même une scène religieuse complexe; cette représentation était peinte soit directement sur la paroi soit sur une planchette en bois.[14] On s'est souvent interrogé sur l'importance des rapports entre les portraits dits "du Fayoum", les icônes romaines et celles de l'époque chrétienne;[15] la filiation[16] entre images païennes et chrétiennes ne semble en tout cas faire aucun doute : le principe même d'un panneau peint, mobile qui peut être suspendu à une paroi ou à une colonne, déposé sur un autel ou dans une niche est, en effet, antérieur au christianisme,[17] la technique est fort proche et le choix des thèmes concorde: Isis[18] Harpocrate, Dionysos, les dieux militaires (ainsi Héron) seront remplacés par le Christ, la Vierge, des saints.[19] Un seul exemple suffira, à mon sens, à lever toute hésitation: un triptique du IIIe s. conservé au Musée Paul Getty;[20] on y

13. Les fouilleurs de Karanis qualifient la grande niche de "niche de prières" et les petites "d'armoires": A. E. R. Boak - E. E. Peterson, *Karanis. Topographical and Architectural Report of Excavations during the Seasons 1924-1928* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 25), Ann Arbor 1931, sp. 29.

14. Par exemple: K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler*, Wiesbaden 1966, pl. 21, fig. 3 et pl. 53, fig. 1, 2, 4, et *Ritratti di mummie*, Palerme 1969; Rome 1977, 1980, *passim* (= *Repertorio d'Arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano*, ser. B).

15. On trouvera, dans plusieurs articles composant *L'icône copte* 1 (cité n. 3), un apercu des opinions généralement défendues (ainsi, 39-46).

16. H. Zaloscer, *Vom Mumienbildnis zur Ikone*, Wiesbaden 1969.

17. M. Rassart-Debergh, "De l'icône païenne à l'icône chrétienne", dans *L'icône copte* 1 (cité n. 3), 39-70, sp. 48-55.

18. Rappelons qu'une représentation purement païenne a été découverte dans un des édifices chrétiens des Kellia: M. Rassart-Debergh, "Une Isis aux Kellia?", dans *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, 3. *"Études isiaques"* (*Bibliothèque d'Étude* 106/3), Paris - Le Caire 1994, 417-421.

19. J. Quaegebeur, "Les 'saints' égyptiens préchrétiens", *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 8 (1977) 129-143.

20. D. L. Thompson, *The Artists of the Mummy Portraits*, [Malibu] 1976, 16, fig.

voit Isis et Sarapis sur les volets, le portrait du défunt au centre;[21] une même oeuvre associe donc une peinture funéraire et des divinités protectrices.

Comme autrefois les divinités romaines, Dieu et ses saints jouissent, dès les premiers temps du christianisme égyptien, d'un endroit priviliégié où le culte peut leur être rendu. Je ne m'arreterai pas aux églises dont elles "sont un élément essentiel..., elles ornent l'iconostase, les murs latéraux..."[22] mais aux premiers monastères. Là, chaque cellule comportait au moins deux pièces, dont l'une réservée à la prière, comme le rappellent fort à propos A. Guillaumont[23] ou R.-G. Coquin;[24] c'est là que l'ermite accomplissait ses synaxes journalières. La niche-oratoire toujours située dans la paroi orientale est encadrée d'armoires pour divers objets (lampes par exemple). Il s'agit là d'une constante constatée aux Kellia,[25] mais déjà été signalée pour les monastères de Saqqara[26] et

50-52; idem, *Mummy Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Malibu 1982, 24, fig. 41-43 et p. 46-51.

21. On sait qu'avant d'être posés sur le visage du mort certains portraits avaient été suspendus dans les demeures; en témoigne celui d'Hawara conservé au British Museum (cf. description, discussion et bibliographie: Rassart-Debergh, "Icône païenne" [cité n. 17]), 53-54, fig. 11.

22. Extrait de la p. 65 de *L'icône copte* 2 (cité n. 3); cf. aussi L.-A. Hunt, "La fabrication et l'usage des icônes dans le contexte de l'Égypte médievale", dans *L'icône copte* 1 (cité n. 3), 71-77.

23. A. Guillaumont, "Le désert des Kellia, un grand site monastique égyptien", dans Dom P. Miquel - A. Guillaumont - M. Rassart-Debergh - Ph. Bridel - A. De Vogüe, *Déserts chrétiens d'Égypte. Les Kellia*, Nice 1993, 27-47, sp. 33-35.

24. R.-G. Coquin, "Évolution du monachisme égyptien", dans *Le Monachisme*, Limoges 1992, 15-23 (*Le Monde Copte* 21-22); p. 18, il remarque: "... seule la psalmodie de la nuit du samedi au dimanche ... était faite en commun à l'église ... Pour autant qu'on puisse le savoir, une célébration en commun n'a été introduite qu'au VIIe s. à Scété...".

25. M. Rassart-Debergh, "Bilan des fouilles aux Kellia: peintures", dans S. Emmel et al. (éd.), *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit. Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenkongresses Münster, 20. - 26. Juli 1996*, 1. *Materielle Kultur, Kunst und religiöses Leben* (Sprachen und Kulturen des christlichen Orients 6), Wiesbaden 1999, 319-335.

26. M. Rassart-Debergh, "La décoration picturale du monastère de Saqqara. Essai de reconstitution", *Institutum Romanum Norvegiae. Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 9 (1981) 9-124, sp. 110-111.

de Baouît comme pour les ermitages d'Esna.[27]

III. La conception religieuse

Dans une de ses études sur les icônes, René Georges Coquin a rappelé que Monseigneur Lefort avait autrefois montré que ce mot avait le sens de "égal, même" et de "copie, minute, exemplaire", signification qui apparaît dans les papyrus grecs d'Égypte comme dans les textes coptes.[28] En tenant compte uniquement des objets conservés,[29] il semblerait bien que dans les premiers temps les chrétiens, pas plus que les juifs, n'ont pas été tentés par la représentation d'images religieuses; une anecdote que relate et commente R.-G. Coquin semble confirmer cette opinion:[30] tirée de la vie d'Aphou, elle mentionne l'émoi de cet ermite égyptien face à l'idée que l'homme serait fait à l'image de Dieu (ce qui impliquerait aussi ses imperfections). Il ne faut toutefois pas oublier, j'ai déjà souligné le fait, que la crise iconoclaste[31] priva le monde chrétien de ses plus anciennes icônes et que, par la force des choses, celles qui nous sont parvenues sont postérieures au rétablissement du culte des images; il demeure par conséquent malaisé d'avoir une idée précise de l'importance des icônes dans le premier christianisme.

L'Égypte vient curieusement combler ce vide[32] puisqu'y ont été

27, M. Rassart-Debergh, "Monastères coptes anciens: organisation et décoration", dans *Le Monachisme* (cité n. 24), 71-95.

28. Une excellente mise au point des sens du terme en copte a été donnée par R.-G. Coquin, "Encore une fois 'ICON'", *Orientalia* 62 (1993) 171-174.

29. La plupart sont postérieures au moyen âge; un bon échantillonage est donné dans G. Sotiriou - Maria Sotiriou, *Icônes du Mont Sinai* (Coll. de l'Institut Français d'Athènes 100, 102), Athènes 1956-1958 (en grec, avec résumé en français). Kurt Weitzmann a consacré au sujet divers articles, réédités en un volume de *scripta varia* par les soins de H. L. Kessler, sous le titre *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illustration*, Chicago - Londres 1971; aussi idem, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons*, 1. *From the Sixth to the Tenth Century*, Princeton 1976.

30. R.-G. Coquin, "Un antécédent de l'icône?", dans *L'icône copte* 2 (cité n. 3), 42.

31. La belle vue d'ensemble donnée autrefois par André Grabar demeure d'actualité: A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, ²Paris 1984 (1ᵉ éd. 1957).

32. Dans le premier dossier sur *L'icône copte* (cité n. 3) les auteurs ont tenté de resituer cette forme artistique dans son contexte historique, d'en retrouver les origines, et de mettre en lumière ses particularités.

conservés nombre de tableaux peints de toutes les époques.[33] J'avais répertorié,[34] outre celles appartenant au monde païen plus d'une vingtaine d'icônes chrétiennes, - achetées dans le commerce d'art, ou trouvées *in situ* à Antinoé, à Baouît, à Edfou, et à Louxor, - remontant aux VIᵉ/VIIᵉ siècles. On citera, parmi les musées[35] ayant conservé ces rares exemplaires, le Musée Copte[36] et le Musée Égyptien du Caire,[37] le Louvre,[38] les "Staatliche Museen" de Berlin,[39] le "Museo Archeologico" de Florence,[40] l'Ermitage (Léningrad/Saint-Petersbourg),[41] le musée de Newark,[42] et le Benaki à Athènes.[43]

33. L. Langen, "La peinture d'icônes en Égypte", dans *L'icône copte* 1 (cité n. 3), 726, et idem, "Icon-painting in Egypt", dans H. Hondelinck (éd.), *Coptic Art and Cultlre*, Le Caire 1990, 55-72; Skalova, "Vicissitudes" (cité n. 11).

34. Rassart-Debergh, "Icône paienne" (cité n. 17), 39-70.

35. Voyez la liste chez Langen, "Peinture" (cité n. 33), 11-12, et Rassart-Debergh, "Icône paienne" (cité n. 17), 56-681. Aux objets mentionnés dans ces deux listes, il convient ajoutent deux icônes de Baouît alors inédites, conservées au Musée des Jacobins à Auch. Toutes deux figuraient à l'exposition qui s'est tenue récemment à l'Institut du Monde Arabe à Paris; l'une montre un moine anonyme (inv. 985.228), l'autre le "frère Marc" (inv. 985.229): *L'art copte en Égypte. 2000 ans de christianisme* , Paris 2000, nos. 73 et 74.

36 *The Icons*, published by P. van Moorsel (Editor-in-Chief), L. Langen (Fieldworker), M. Immerzeel (Editor), with the collaboration of A. Serafeem. Photographs: H. Hondelinck, [Le Caire] 1994.

37. Inv. J 68824, J 68825 et J 68826, souvent reproduits depuis leur découverte à Antinoé par l'équipe italienne.

38. M.-H. Rutschowscaya, "Le Christ et l'Abbé Ména", dans *L'icone copte* 1 (cité n. 3), 35-37.

39. A. Effenberger - H.-G. Severin, *Das Museum fur Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst*, Mayence 1992, no. 84, avec bibliographie antérieure.

40. M. Rassart-Debergh, "Icônes d'Antinoé", *Chronique d'Egypte* 68 (1993) 316-328 (*Hommages au professeur Vergote*), avec bibliographie antérieure.

41. A. Kakovkin, "L'art copte de l'Ermitage", dans *Coptic Studies. Acts of the IIIth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Warsaw, 20-25 August 1984*, Varsovie 1990, 179-186, sp. 183 et fig. 8.

42. S. Auth, *Coptic Art of Ancient Egypt. Treasures from the Nadler Collection and the Newark Museum, May 30-November 30, 1986*, Newark 1986; on ignore encore si cette peinture sur bois d'un beau saint Georges qu'identifie une inscription était une véritable icône ou provenait d'un panneau de coffret (S. Auth en prépare la publication).

43. A. Delivorrias, *Guide to the Benaki Museum*, Athènes 1980, 35.

Celles conservées à Athène proviennent d'Égypte (sans lieu précis) et sont attribuées au VIe-VIIe s.; de fort belle facture, elles offrent un bon échantillonage iconographique puisqu'on y voit des saints, des cavaliers et une belle tête de Christ. Je m'étais autrefois penchée sur cette dernière;[44] la chevelure sombre ressort sur le fond doré du nimbe crucifère; seul le haut du visage pâle était conservé; à droite se lisait une invocation en grec au Christ Emmanuel. Le texte de gauche fut déchiffré sur photo par R. Kasser comme "Mon frère Timothée, souviens-toi de lui et que Dieu"; selon R. Kasser, le terme "can" est propre au fayoumique et l'écriture semble appartenir aux VIIe-VIIIe s.; le bilinguisme de l'objet s'explique dans une région où le grec fut important.[45]

Aux icônes que l'on vient de mentionner, il convient de rattacher les petits coffrets constitués par l'assemblage de panneaux peints, dont chacun semble parfois une icône véritable;[46] on y voit tantôt de saints personnages et le Christ,[47] tantôt des motifs géométriques ou animaliers, dont certains n'ont aucune coloration chrétienne.[48]

44. M. Rassart-Debergh, "A propos des 'icônes coptes' du Musée Benaki: un visage du Christ", dans *Le Monde Copte* 20, Limoges 1992, 13-15. Je remercie, une fois encore, le conservateur et le personnel du Benaki qui avaient facilité mon étude de ces plaquettes.

45. Je souhaite lui exprimer à nouveau toute ma gratitude pour son aide.

46. Lorsqu'on trouve une plaquette seule, sans lieu de provenance, il n'est pas toujours aisé de différencier icône, fragment de coffret ou même de frise.

47. Mentionnons, à titre d'exemple, le célèbre coffret de Berlin, portant sur le couvercle le Christ ™øTHP: A. Effenberger - H.-G. Severin, *Museum* (cité n. 39), no. 83, p. 168-169 = *L'art copte* (cité n. 35), no. 145; voyez aussi les nos. 140, 144.

48. J'avais présenté trois inédits du Louvre (x3236, E14351, E14353 = nos. 58, 59, 60) à l'exposition *Art chrétien du Nil. Kristelijke kunst langs de Nijl, Bruxelles, Passage 44, 12/2-17/3/74*, Bruxelles 1974 (catalogue rédigé par J. Lafontaine-Dosogne - M. Rassart-Debergh). Ces objets et d'autres jusque là inédits ont été publiées dans le catalogue du Louvre consacré aux peintures: M.-H. Rutschowscaya, *Musée du Louvre. Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes: La peinture copte*, Paris 1992, 36-37, nos. 30 et 24. Notons que les objets mentionnés dans cette liste aux nos. 28 et 32 sont conservées au Musée Égyptien du Caire, non au Musée Copte; par ailleurs, l'auteur, - contrairement à L. Langen ("La peinture d'icône" [cité n. 33], 12) et à moi-même ("Icône païenne" [cité n. 17], 61-62), - continue à assigner à Baouît le célèbre Abraham (= ENREG.22) conservé au Bodemuseum de Berlin, bien que plusieurs études lui préfèrent Louxor: M. Krause, "Zur Lokalisierung und Datierung koptischer Denkmaler.

L'ensemble de ces objets a certainement joué un rôle de tout premier plan en diffusant, à travers toute la vallée du Nil, des canons artistiques et iconographiques coptes.

Das Tafelbild des Bischofs Abraham", *Zeitschrift fur Agyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 97 (1971) 106-111 (= *Festschrift Walther Wolf zum 70. Geburtstag*). Rappelons que, se basant surtout sur les ressemblances stylistiques avec l'icône du Christ protégeant Ména, on avait proposé Baouit comme lieu de provenance. M. Krause apporta diverses précisions sur l'évêque et sur les dates de son épiscopat (590/600 à 610/620), et attribua le portrait au début de sa charge. On sait maintenant, grâce aux travaux de nos collègues polonais, que l'évêque Abraham fut l'un des supérieurs du couvent de Phoibamon, à Deir el-Bahari, peut-être même le fondateur: W. Godelwski, *Le Monastère de St Phoibamon* (*Deir el-Bahari* 5), Varsovie 1986, 60; la peinture y est reproduite en couverture. Ainsi la provenance de Louxor, avancée par Krause, gagne-t-elle en vraisemblance et écarte-t-elle définitivement à mon sens l'hypothèse "Baouit", sauf rapports de fouilles inédits que possèderait le musée du Louvre et qu'il conviendrait alors de publier rapidement pour élucider définitivement ce problème.

Irfan Shahîd

THE CHURCH OF HAGIOS POLEUKTOS IN CONSTANTINOPLE. SOME NEW OBSERVATIONS

Serendipity and sensationalism have been associated with the Church of Hagios Polyeuktos. How the excavations of the site were inspired by a chance discovery has been told at length[1] by the scholar who conducted those excavations, Richard Martin Harrison. The same scholar was also responsible for some sensationalism reflected in the provocative title[2] of that *haute vulgarisasion* of his two massive volumes, which suggested that in the very capital of the Christian Roman Empire with its dreaming spires and domes, a church was erected, not in the architectural style of the new religion, but in that of the old, thus reviving memories of the Temple of Jerusalem, built by the Israelite King, Solomon.

The case for the architectural style of the Church as a Solomonic Temple was persuasively presented by Harrison on two grounds: the Biblical cubit as the unit of measurement and the sculpted decoration, consisting of peacocks, palm trees and vines.[3] Yet, he seems to have been not totally sure of his conclusions, since he has a question mark in the title of the final chapter, which presents the church as "A New Tem-

1. See R. M. Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, 1. *The Excavations, Structures, Architectural Decoration, Small Finds, Coins, Bones, and Moluscs*, Princeton - Washington, D.C. 1986.

2. *Idem*, *A Temple for Byzantium*, London 1989.

3. *Op. cit.*, 137-139.

ple of Solomon" and he speaks in the same vein of his conclusion as one "hard to resist".[4] However, his views have been generally accepted or seriously entertained with some reservations harbored on the ground level plan of the Church, whether or not the Church was domed, and on the symbolism of the decoration.[5] A statement by a leading art and architectural historian may be quoted in this connection. After casting some doubts, he concluded by saying, "Even so, the Solomonic model may well have been present in Anicia's mind, and it is well to remember that it was precisely in her lifetime that Constantinople was assuming the status of the New Jerusalem."[6] The same scholar also lamented the fact that the Church "has no history".[7] Inspired by this and by what Harrison has said earlier that "Political history is rarely the province of an archaeologist",[8] the present writer invokes the aid of history in trying to answer some of the questions posed by the discussion which the discovery of this Church has generated.

In the scholarship that has appeared on this church, Anicia Juliana steals the show, while Eudocia, her ancestress who had built the original church of Polyeuktos in Constantinople, is hardly ever mentioned. This neglect or nonchalance towards the 5th-century empress goes back to Harrison himself, in whose works she appears only once[9] and in a

4. *Ibid..*, 137, 139.

5. See C. Mango in *Journal of Roman Studies* 81 (1991) 237-239; Marlia Mundell Mango in *Apollo* 133 (February 1991) 136. More recent discussions may be found in J.-P. Sodini, "Les paons de Saint Polyeukte et leurs modeles", in I. Sevčenko - Irmgard Hutter (eds.), *ΑΕΤΟΣ. Studies in Honor of Cyril Mango*, Stuttgart - Leipzig 1998, 307-313, and Carolyn L. Connor, "The Epigram in the Church of Hagios Polyeuktos in Constantinople and its Byzantine Response", *Byzantion* 59 (1999) 479-527. Jonathan Bardill tells me his monograph on the Church has been completed.

6. Cyril Mango, *op. cit.*, 239.

7. Idem, "Polyeuktos", *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3, Oxford - New York 1991, 1696.

8. Harrison, *Excavations*, 418. The full statement reads as follows: "Political history is rarely the province of an archaeologist. The church os St. Polyeuktos, however, was on any estimate an extraordinary building constructed at a critical period by a very remarkable person. Although the historical evidence for the life of Anicia Juliana is meagre, what there is may be placed together with the archaeological evidence in context and examined for clues to Anicia Juliana's motives in commissioning the monument."

9. See *idem*, *Excavations*, 420, and not at all in *idem*, *Temple*, except on p. 33 and only in Anicia's epigram.

non-significant, non-heuristic context for exploring what her life could provide of clues for answering the questions he himself had posed. Only Marlia Mundell Mango has exhumed Eudocia from this obscurity in a short review.[10] But Eudocia was the builder of the original church in the 5th century, which Anicia only enlarged and made more splendid and to whom she referred in the long church, both as her ancestress and the builder of the church.[11] A reexamination of the career of Eudocia is, therefore, called for and it will reveal data relevant to answering two of the main questions that involve the church. Was it the style of the Solomonic Temple? And why was the church dedicated to Polyeuktos, about whom not much of anything is known? This, then, is the thrust of the article: to shift emphasis for answering the two questions from one imperial lady, Anicia Juliana, to another, Aelia Eudocia Augusta.

I

The erection of a church in Constantinople in the style of the Jewish Temple, evoking the Davidic Monarchy, has been related to Anicia's imperial claims and expectations implied in the political message that the inscription transmitted. This is possible, but it is strange that a Roman lady who had no attested connection with the Jews or Judaism should in the 6th century have thought of stating her claims in Jewish terms - through a Temple, the destruction of which was prophesied by Jesus and which was left in a ruined state, as witness to a prophecy that was fulfilled. But it was not so strange that the 5th-century empress should have thought of a Temple in Byzantium. A recital of her encounters and contacts with the Jews will reveal a lady with strong pro-Jewish sympathies and, so, the erection of a church in the style of the Temple by an imperial lady of this description does not seem inconceivable. With this as background, Anicia's involvement in the Temple and in Solomon becomes less strange and, indeed, appears as perfectly natural, coming as it does as a continuation on a larger and more splendid scale of the work of her predecessor and ancestress, who had already taken the initial crucial step in the erection of a church in the style of the Temple.

10. See Marlia Mango, *op. cit.*

11. For the epigram and reference to Eudocia in it, see Harrison, *Excavations*, 6, lines 1-6.

In support of Eudocia's Church, erected architecturally as a Temple, the following[12] may be adduced:

1 - Eudocia had been Athenaïs, a pagan lady, before her conversion to Christianity, and so she was not born into a Christian family that had looked upon the Jews as *Theoktonoi*. Her father had been a pagan sophist or philosopher in Athens, Leontios, who became the center of the circle in Constantinople that advocated religious tolerance and succeeded in persuading Theodosius the Younger to issue a decree to that effect with express reference to the Jews.

Eudocia was a woman of letters and a poetess; naturally she must have been attracted by the Jewish Old Testament as literature rather than by the Christian New, since it was the former that has been rightly considered as belonging to world literature. Indeed, when she turned into Homeric hexameters portions of the Bible, those were mostly from the Old Testament - Zacharia, Daniel and the Psalms.

Her ancestor in spirit, Julian the Apostate, could not have been altogether absent from her mind when she dealt with the Jews and the Temple. That fascinating figure shared with her his affiliation to the two religious systems, Paganism and Christianity, although not in the same sequence. Both clearly were free from prejudice against the Jews. The one went to the length of trying to rebuild the Temple; the other could not do that in Jerusalem, since it would have invalidated Christ's prophecy on the destruction of the Temple. So she built a likeness of it somewhere else, in Constantinople, in a church dedicated to a Christian martyr.

2 - The period of her marriage to Theodosius the Younger, some twenty years, 423-443, coincided with the anti-Jewish legislation of the reign, one landmark of which was the abolition of the Jewish Patriarchate in 429.[13] When she travelled to the Holy Land in 438-439, Eudocia met two ecclesiastics who were notoriously anti-Jewish, the firebrand monk, Barsauma, who instigated physical violence against the Jews and their synagogues, and Cyril of Alexandria, who acted similarly in Egypt; so she must have been repelled by the violence she encountered, instigated by these two ecclesiastics. Perhaps more important than all these arguments for Eudocia and the Temple is the episode described in the *Life of Barsauma*, which tells how the Jews approached her for permission to visit Jerusalem and pray at the ruins of the Temple and not only on the 9th of Āb as Constantine had decreed. The *Life* describes how anti-Jewish feelings resulted in the death of many Jews who were praying there at the Temple and how Eudocia wanted to punish the culprits. This must have left a lasting impression on her. All this, of course, happened after her Church of Polyeuktos was built, but it reflects the strong pro-Jewish sentiments of the empress.

12. For all these references that follow, involving the pro-Jewish sympathies of Eudocia, see K. G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses. Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley - Los Angeles - London 1982, 113, 116, 124-126, 217-218.

13. On this, see M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine: A Political History*, Oxford 1976, 228.

Solomon built the Temple as an abode for Jahweh (Jehovah), but Jewish Yahweh - the highly cultured Eudocia may have mused - was non other than the first Person of the Christian Trinity.

II

Eudocia's choice of this martyr, Polyeuktos, for her church in Constantinople has not been seriously addressed.[14] Not much is known about him other than the fact that he was a centurion of *legio Fulminata*, who was martyred *ca.* 250 A.D. at Melitene, west of the Upper Euphrates, during the Decian persecution. He remains a shadowy figure and it is not clear why Eudocia should have made this choice for the distinction of dedicating a church in Constantinople.

Attention has been drawn to the fact that Eudocia's father, Leontios, was not an Athenian and that on the strength of her oration in Antioch in which she spoke of herself as belonging to that city, it was concluded that she came from a Greek Antiochene family.[15] Polyeuktos is a Greek name and the Greek Eudocia may have had a natural affinity with a Greek-Christian martyr, not a Roman or an Oriental one.[16] He may even have been an Antiochene.

But why choose this particular Antiochene martyr, if, indeed, he was such? Polyeuktos was a soldier and it is just possible that he may have

14. But see Marlia Mango, *op. cit.*

15. Holum, *op. cit.*, 117.

16. Cf. the popularity of St. Sergius in the Roman Occident, possibly thought to be not a Greek, but a Roman martyr, related to the old Roman patrician family - the Sergii.

fought in Rome's Persian wars in the first half of the 3rd century, during the reigns of Severus Alexander, Maximinius Thrax and the Gordiani. His legion *Fulminata* was stationed in Melitene, not far from the Persian border, and it was one of the eleven legions[17] which Severus Alexander had at his disposal for his Persian campaign of A.D. 231.[18] The reign of Eudocia's husband, Theodosius, witnessed two Persian Wars, one in 421-422 , the other in 440-442, and the First was appropriately termed Pulcheria's Crusade. It is, therefore, not unnatural that the choice of a martyr who had possibly fought the Persians was governed by the fact that Byzantium had been at war with Persia and, so, it is not inappropriate to dedicate the church to a military saint who might have fought the same secular enemy - the Persians - and, consequently, might have been considered as a palladium for Byzantium in the event of a war with Persia. And when it is remembered that Eudocia was emotionally involved in her husband's Persian war, having written a poem in heroic verse on it,[19] her choice of a saint who may have fought the Persians becomes more intelligible.

Confirmation of the reason behind the choice of Polyeuktos as the dedicatee of the church is afforded by the circumstances that attended the building by Pulcheria, Theodosius's sister, of the *martyrium* of St. Stephen in the Imperial Palace, after a relic, his right arm, had reached Constantinople, sent by the archbishop of Jerusalem.[20] It has been plausibly argued that interest in St. Stephen was associated with the expectations that the outbreak of the Persian War of 421-422 was imminent and St. Stephen would be Byzantium's palladium in that war.[21]

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17. As calculated by W. Ensslin, basing himself on the number of legions in the East as indicated in Cassius Dio; see W. Ensslin, "The Persian Wars with Rome", *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 12. *The Imperial Crisis and Recovery*, Cambridge 1939, 126-137, here 127-128.

18, See K. G. Holum, "Pulcheria's Crusade", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 18 (1977) 153-172.

19. See Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. R. Hussey, VII, xxi.

20. See Holum, "Pulcheria's Crusade", 163.

21. Holum has argued that the date in Theophanes on the translation of Stephen's relic to Constantinople is inaccurate and may be withdrawn to 421, related to the first Persian War of Theodosius's reign (Holum, *op. cit.*). Even if Theophanes is correct in assigning the translation to the year 428, still, the Saint's relation to the Persian war could be supported, since Persia was the secular enemy and the outbreak of future wars was to be expected, as in fact happened in A.D. 440, during the same reign.

III

So much for Eudocia. A return to the other Imperial lady is now *à propos*. Anicia Juliana inherited from her ancestress, Eudocia, a church already dedicated to Polyeuktos, a modest one, which she rebuilt on a much larger and more splendid scale, both architecturally and decoratively. But she went beyond what her ancestress had done, not only in the scale and splendor of her church, but also in having a long epigram inscribed in the church, which blazoned forth her glory, considered as "setting a new standard of monumental *ekphrasis*." Whatever epigram Eudocia may have had inscribed in her church, it certainly was nothing like this one by Anicia and certainly reflected no imperial claims or pretensions, since she was already in the purple, an empress, unlike the would-be one, Anicia. This inscription is thus unique and two elements in it may by briefly revisited in this context of the reexamination of the Church of Polyeuktos:

A - The church was built by Anicia Juliana in the course of the three years that elapsed from 524 to 527. As has been said by Martin Harrison,[22] this Church was more than a church erected for the greater glory of God and His Saint, Polyeuktos. The message that Anicia Juliana wanted to convey is clearly reflected in this long epigram, which has miraculously survived, partly in the debris of the church and fully in the *Anthologia Palatina*.[23]

a - It blazoned forth her family connections, as the last surviving member of the House of Theodosius. She was also at one and the same time, the daughter of Olybrius, Emperor of the West, and the granddaughter of another emperor, Valentinian III, through his daughter Placidia. She was the wife of a *magister militum*, Areobindus, who was offered the imperial crown in A.D. 512, and the mother of Olybrius Junior, who married the niece of Emperor Anastasius I, Eirene. On top of that, she belonged to the *gens Anicia*, a very old aristocratic Roman family,[24] through her father, Flavius Anicius Olybrius.

b - The inscription expresses and implies all these family connec-

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22. Harrison, *Excavations*, 420.

23. For this Greek epigram and its English version, see *ibid.*, 6-7.

24. For this family, to which Pope Gregory the Great belonged, see C. Capizzi,

tions. It opens with the name of Eudocia, the empress, Anicia's great-grandmother, with the clear implication that this was not merely a dynastic genealogical statement, but one that carried a political message - imperial claims to the Byzantine throne - succession to sovereignty in the Byzantine state, which she was ready to assume.

c - Finally, it might be said that the construction of the church was also significant as it was effected in the mid-twenties of the 6th century, exactly in that critical period when Justin I reigned, the doddering old man about to die, and while the question of succession had not been decided. The nephew, Justinian, had been designated the successor, but it was not quite certain that the succession, subject to the innumerable ills that succession is heir to, would be smooth, especially as the nephew had no imperial family connection and was disadvantaged by being yoked to a spouse who had been, according to Procopius, a woman with a past, not the normal qualification for a prospective draping in the purple, especially in a Christian Roman Empire.

There is no doubt that Justinian was aware of the implications of Anicia's imperial claims and pretensions to his succession and to his rule, after he acceded to the throne. This is evidenced by what the sources say on the tension that obtained between him and Anicia Juliana in the first year of his reign and by anecdotes such as the one that sent him to the Church of Polyeuktos with her.[25] These sour relations between the two serve as a background for understanding Justinian's reactions in the 530's, long after her death.

Conveniently for Justinian, Anicia died in A.D. 528, shortly after the erection of her church was completed. And the same church which was meant to be instrumental in catapulting her to the Byzantine throne may have become the mausoleum wherein she was buried;[26] with her were also buried her imperial claims. These, however, may have survived posthumously through her son, Olybrius, who is significantly mentioned in her epigram in an imperial context. Olybrius Junior carried the name of his imperial grandfather and, moreover, was married to

"Anicia Giuliana (462 ca-530 ca): ricerce sulla sua famiglia e la vita", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. 5, 15 (1968) 191-226..

25. As related by Gregory of Tours; see Harrison, *Excavations*, 8-9.

26 Persuasively argued by Carolyn Connor, for which see the resume of her paper at the Byzantine Congress in Paris, August 2001 (Carolyn L. Connor, "The Church of Hagios Polyeuktos in Constantinople and Anicia Juliana's Quest for Immortality", *XXe Congrès international des Études byzantines. Pré-Actes*, 3. *Communications libres*,

Eirene, the niece of the Emperor Anastasius I. That he had or must have had some imperial hopes resting on his lineage and his matrimonial connection with an emperor is evidenced by his participation in the Nika revolt against Justinian, as a result of which his property was confiscated while he was consigned to an exile outside the capital in A.D. 532. His claims, as those of his mother, came to naught and Justinian was to reign for at least three more decades.

The inscription is, thus, an indispensable guide to Anicia's intentions in building her church. While views on this, resting on the splendor of the church remain inferential, the epigram implies in no ambiguous terms her imperial claims and pretensions. These are important as they reflect a dynastic struggle for the Byzantine throne, which obtained in the third decade of the 6th century, just before Justinian acceded and initiated that celebrated reign. The course of this proto-Byzantine period would have been different, if Anicia's hopes had been fulfilled, and her epigram is our only source for these hopes and intentions.

B - If what Anicia expressed in the epigram concerning her imperial claims died with her, what she said about Solomon did not. This part of the epigram, therefore, deserves to be revisited both for what it tells about Anicia and for its effect on others. In verses 47-50, she boasts that "she alone has conquered time and surpassed the wisdom of celebrated Solomon, raising a temple to receive God, the richly wrought and graceful splendor of which the ages cannot celebrate."[27]

"χρόνον δ' ἐβιήσατο μούνη,
καὶ σοφίην παρέλασσεν ἀειδομένου Σολομῶνος,
νηὸν ἀναστήσασα θεηδόχον, οὗ μέγας αἰὼν
οὐ δύναται μέλψαι χαρίτων πολυδαίδαλον αἴγλην"

1 - The reference to Solomon explicitly relates here to the Israelite king who built the Temple and, thus, supports the view inferentially expressed from architecture that her church was built in the style of the Temple. This is strong confirmation of it. The reference to Solomon is thus related to the architectural style of the Church more than to the Davidic Monarchy and Anicia's imperial claims, since these were so strong within the framework of her *Roman* imperial genealogy; but it may have some relevance to the Davidic Monarchy, related to the palace she had, not far from her church, which evokes memories of the

Paris 2001, 303).

27. For the Greek text and the English rendering, see Harrison, *Excavations*, 6-7.

Israelite king and both his structures: Palace and Temple.[28]

2 - Important is the *comparison* with Solomon, whose wisdom she surpassed. The claim is startling as a 6th-century Byzantine lady takes on no less than an Israelite king and prophet, Solomon in all his glory, but seems consonant with the imperial pride she takes in her lineage and erections, pretentious or even sacrilegious as this may sound. Apart from this, the sentence raises a problem which must be addressed. The question of wisdom seems at first sight irrelevant. The Israelite King is credited with Divine Wisdom given him by God and his name is associated with three books of the Old Testament, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs. If Anicia had written a book, the comparison with Solomon's wisdom may have sounded appropriate, but she had built a Temple. And so the question arises in what sense she was wiser than Solomon in building a church. Both the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* supply the answer. Solomon spent a *long time* building the Temple and his palace; according to *Kings*, seven or nine years for the Temple and thirteen for the palace, while in *Chronicles* the years for the Temple are twenty. The scholiast on Anicia's Inscription in the *Palatine Anthology* says she spent *three years* building it and this provides the key for understanding the comparison.[29] The further question arises as to why she was in a hurry to have the building of the church completed in a short time. This may perhaps be related to her imperial ambitions.[30] By that time, she was not a "spring chicken" and she would have wanted the edifice to be completed soon enough for her to buttress her claims to

28. As has been argued by Harrison, *Temple*, 138-139. The Palace-Church complex of Anicia was not necessarily a Solomonic echo, since the Palace Church was certainly not unknown in Constantinople. Furthermore, in this proto-Byzantine period, it is doubtful that Solomon had become a Biblical model for the Byzantine emperors. Moses, not Solomon, was the model of Constantine, whom Anicia remembers at the end of her epigram in verses 70-73. It was not until the Middle Byzantine period with the emperors of the Macedonian Dynasty that Solomon may have become a Biblical model, possibly related to the self-image of the Armenians or some of them, as descended from Israel.

29, Consonant with verse 47 in her epigram, where she says that she accomplished her work *εἰν ὀλίγοις ἐτέεσσι.*

30. Anicia's imperial hopes must, of course, have focused on her son, Olybrius, as the future emperor, during whose contemplated reign she would assume immense powers as the emperor's mother.

royalty in the event of Justin I's death, who was getting old and indeed died almost simultaneously as the church was completed. But, as has been already suggested, the church was ready as a mausoleum to receive her, since she, too, died soon after the church was completed.

To sum up; the reference to Solomon confirms more clearly what has been expressed inferentially on the style of the Church. The name of the Israelite king is invoked primarily to reflect this and to support her claims to various virtues recited in the epigram, in this case, her wisdom. Only secondarily does it evoke Solomon in order to convey a political message, related to the Davidic Monarchy and the Divine Kingship of Ancient Israel, since that has been stated more powerfully and cogently by the recital of the many imperial *Roman* personages she was related to.

C - If Anicia's imperial claims and pretensions evaporated with her death, her church and her epigram remained a force in the architectural history of the reign of Justinian and in the attitude of that emperor towards Solomon and his people.

a - The posthumous Anician presence in Byzantine religious architecture has been well described by Carolyn Connor, who after referring to the chance discovery of the site of the Church of Polyeuktos, said:

> "Little did anyone suspect that the discovery would affect the way we look at Justinian's great church of Hagia Sophia (532-537) and the related churches of Saints Sergius and Bacchus (527-536) and Hagia Irene (begun 532), long evocative of that emperor's singular ambition and vision as a builder."[31]

In the last section of her article, entitled "Responding", she elaborated on this. *Inter alia*, she reexamined the inscription in Justinian's Church of Sergius and Bacchus as a response to the epigram in Anicia's church of Polyeuktos.[32]

b - The reference to Solomon must have registered in Justinian's mind and may have induced in him what might be termed a "Solomon Complex".

The recital of the series of imperial personages in Anicia's epigram ceased to be effective or annoying in A.D. 528, as they became obsolete

31 Connor, "Epigram", 479.

32 *Ibid.*, 510-512.

simultaneously with her demise and they must have then been viewed with some amusement by Justinian. Not so, one statement that did not lose its relevance and significance to him, namely the one in which she stated that she surpassed Solomon. In so doing, Anicia projected for the first time the image of a Better-Than-Solomon Imperial Byzantine, an image that was adopted and amplified by Justinian,[33] the emperor whose legislation was anti-Jewish[34] and to whose fire his Nemesis, Anicia, must have added fuel when she directly challenged him with her inscription and her church, Temple-style.

c - After the completion of Hagia Sophia and in A.D. 537 during its dedication, a tradition that goes back to the *Patria* has it that Justinian exclaimed "I have vanquished thee, O Solomon!"[35] This has been viewed with suspicion, coming as it does from the *Patria*, but now, with the epigram of Anicia in which this sentiment is expressed, it is not altogether inconceivable that Justinian did actually say it. Carolyn Connor's cogent reasoning that the Churches of Hagia Sophia, Sergius/Bacchus and Euphemia were responses to Polyeuktos provides a background, sympathetic to the historicity[36] of the Justinianic ejaculation, since just as Hagia Sophia was architecturally a response to Polyeuktos with a vengeance, so was the ejaculation involving Solomon, supported by the superiority of Hagia Sophia to Polyeuktos. But while Anicia's statement was an expression of vanity and pride, and perfectly consonant with the erection of a church in the style of Solomon's Temple, Justinian's may have been differently nuanced;[37] related to his desire to distance himself from Solomon, a fact reflected architecturally in Hagia Sophia, certainly not built in the style of Solomon's Temple, unlike Anicia's St. Polyeuktos, which was. Perhaps

33. On this, see I. Shahîd, "The Church of St. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople. Some New Perspectives", in Anna Avramea - Angeliki Laiou - E. Chrysos (eds.), *Βυζάντιο: Κράτος καὶ κοινωνία. Μνήμη Νίκου Οἰκονομίδη*, Athens 2003, 467-480, and *idem*, "Justinian and Palestine: The *Nea Ecclesia* in Jerusalem", in Florentia Evangelatou-Notara (ed.), *Festschrift N. Oikonomides* (forthcoming).

34. On this, see Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, 246-251.

35. Quoted by Harrison from the *Patria*, for which see Harrison, *Temple*, 40.

36. On the *Patria*, see now the section titled "The *Parastaseis* and the *Patria*", in Averil Cameron - Judith Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, Leiden 1984, 3-9.

37. For the possibility of a *double-entendre* in Justinian's exclamation, involving both Anicia and Solomon, see Harrison, *Temple*, 40.

it is also reflected in the wording of the exclamation, which is different from that used in the epigram by Anicia, expressing her superiority over Solomon. The Justinianic exclamation[38] significantly was: ἐνίκησά σε Σολομών!

38. See *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Th. Preger, New York 1975, 105, lines 4-5.

Gotthard Strohmaier

GRIECHISCHER MYTHOS BEI CHRISTLICH-ARABISCHEN UND MUSLIMISCHEN AUTOREN

Die vielfältigen Beziehungen zwischen der griechischen und der arabischen Welt aufzuzeigen war stets das besondere Forschungsanliegen von Vassilios Christides. Die folgende Blütenlese aus mehr oder weniger zufälligen Beobachtungen in der arabischen Literatur soll darum als eine passende Zugabe in den Geburtstagsstraufl eingebunden werden.

Der Muslim Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhim ibn ad-Dāya, als Zeitgenosse ein lebendiger Schilderer des akademischen Lebens in der abbasidischen Hauptstadt des neunten Jahrhunderts n.Chr., hatte einen griechischen Freund namens Isḥāq ibn al-Ḥāṣīy, der als Sklave am Kalifenhof aufwuchs. Seine Tante mit Namen Chryse erzog ihn in der griechischen Sprache und in der klassischen Bildung. Eines Tages wollte Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhim bei ihm einen Krankenbesuch machen, als er merkte, dafl schon ein anderer zugegen war, der laut Verse von Homer, dem "Oberhaupt der griechischen Dichter (ra'īs shu'arā al-Rūm)", deklamierte.[1] Der Fremde war der nachmals als übersetzer berühmte Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, ein früherer Studienkollege von Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhim, den dieser aber nicht gleich wiedererkannte, weil er sich lange im byzantinischen Ausland, vermutlich in Konstantinopel, aufgehalten und sich dort die lange Haartracht der byzantinischen scholastikoi zugelegt hatte. Ḥunayn zeigte

1. Zitiert bei Ibn abī Uṣaybi'a, *'Uyūn al-anbā' fīṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, hrsg. v. August Müller, Kairo 1882, Bd. 1, S. 185,14-25.

später in seinen gelehrten Anmerkungen, die er manchmal in seine Galenübersetzungen einfügte, eine profunde Homerkenntnis.[2] Eine übersetzung der Epen hat er nicht in Angriff genommen, und man kann sich das Ergebnis auch schwer vorstellen, da er sonst alle Elemente des Polytheismus zu beseitigen pflegte. Nur Theophilos von Edessa, ein Astrologe des Kalifen al-Mahdī, dem Ḥunayn ein ganz ungünstiges Zeugnis als Galenübersetzer ausstellt,[3] soll sich an einer syrischen Version der homerischen Gedichte versucht haben, wovon sich nichts erhalten hat.[4]

Ein Paradebeispiel für eine Umformung im Geiste des Monotheismus bietet die einleitende Schwurformel des hippokratischen Eides: Ὀμνύω Ἀπόλλωνα ἰητρὸν καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ Ὑγείαν καὶ Πανάκειαν καὶ θεοὺς πάντας τε καὶ πάσας...[5] Nunmehr heißt es: Innī uqsimu bi-'llāh rabb al-ḥayāt wa-'l-mawt wa-wāhib al-ṣiḥḥa wa-uqsimu bi-Asqlībiyūs wa-bi-khāliq al-shifā' wa-kulli ᶜilādjin wa-uqsimu bi-awliyā' Allāh min al-ridjāl wa-'l-nisā' djamīᶜan ... ("Ich schwöre bei Gott, dem Herrn des Lebens und des Todes, der die Gesundheit verleiht, und ich schwöre bei Asklepios und dem, der die Genesung und jede Heilung hervorbringt, und ich schwöre bei den Heiligen Gottes, den männlichen und den weiblichen insgesamt ...").[6]

Wie lebendig die Kenntnis der klassischen Literatur bei den Gebildeten unter den Christen noch sein konnte, zeigt eine freimütige Diskussion, die Qusṭā ibn Lūqā aus Baalbek, ein anderer bedeutender übersetzer, mit seinem muslimischen Mäzen ᶜAlī ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-Munadjdjim führte. Dieser wollte ihm die Wahrheit der koranischen Offenbarung an ihrem iᶜdjāz, ihrer unnachahmlichen sprachlichen Vollendung, vordemonstrieren, aber Qusṭā, der in der islamischen überlieferung ebenfalls

2. G. Strohmaier, *Homer in Bagdad*. In: *Byzantinoslavica* (Prag) 41, 1980, S. 196-200 (Nachdruck in: *Von Demokrit bis Dante. Die Bewahrung antiken Erbes in der arabischen Kultur*, Hildesheim, Zürich, New York 1996 [Olms Studien 43], S. 222-226).

3. G. Bergsträßer (Hrsg.), *Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-übersetzungen*, Leipzig 1925 (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 17,2), Nr. 84.

4. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn 1922, S. 341.

5. 1: hrsg. v. I. L. Heiberg, Leipzig, Berlin 1927 (*Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* I 1), S. 4,2f.

6. G. Strohmaier, *Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq et le serment hippocratique*. In: *Arabica* 21, 1974, S. 321f. (Nachdruck in: *Von Demokrit bis Dante* ... [s.o. Anm. 2], S. 219f.), hier weitere Belege.

zuhause war, fragte zurück, warum dann bei der Sammlung unter dem Kalifen ᶜUthmān für jeden Vers zwei Zeugen die Authentizität bestätigen mußten. Als hingegen der Tyrann Peisistratos seine Ausgabe der homerischen Epen veranstaltete, so erzählt Qusṭā weiter, ließ er alle möglichen Verse von den Leuten zusammenkaufen und berief dann ein Kollegium von Experten, die nur auf Grund ihres stilistischen Urteils das Echte vom Unechten zu scheiden vermochten.[7]

Isḥāq ibn ᶜAlī al-Ruhāwī, ein sonst kaum bekannter Autor der zweiten Hälfte des neunten Jahrhunderts, kennt in seinem *Kitāb adab al-ṭabīb* (*"Die Bildung des Arztes"*)[8] auch Erzählstoffe aus grauer Vorzeit, die bei Homer nicht vorkommen und von zwei erfolgreichen Ärzten handeln, welche die Tochter eines Königs heiraten und Teilhaber an seinem Besitz werden durften. Johann Christoph Bürgel gelang anhand der stark verderbten Namensformen die Identifizierung des ersten Helden. Es handelt sich um Melampus, der die mit Wahnsinn geschlagenen Töchter des Proitos, des Königs von Tiryns, mit Helleborus heilte.[9] Der zweite ist Podaleirios, ein Sohn des Asklepios, der auf der Heimkehr vom Trojanischen Krieg vor der karischen Küste Schiffbruch erlitt, die Tochter des Königs Daimathos namens Syrna, die von einem Dach gefallen war, kurierte, sie zum Dank heiraten durfte und dazu noch einen Teil des Landes bekam, auf dem er zwei Städte gründete. Diese Geschichte findet sich auch in dem geographischen Lexikon des Grammatikers Stephanos von Byzantion überliefert.[10] Al-Ruhāwī beruft sich auf Galen, und die Quelle ist möglicherweise ein Kommentar zum hippokratischen Eid gewesen, der Galen zugeschrieben wird und m.E. auch

7. Kh. Samir u. P. Nwyia (Hrsg.), *Une correspondance islamo-chrétienne entre Ibn al-Munaǧǧim, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq et Qusṭā ibn Lūqā*, Turnhout 1981 (*Patrologia Orientalis* 40,4, Nr. 185), S. 638-643.

8. Faksimileedition in: *Isḥāq ibn ᶜAlī al-Ruhāwī, The Conduct of the Physician: Adab al-ṭabīb* (*Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic Science*, hrsg. v. F. Sezgin, Reihe C, Bd. 18), Frankfurt a.M. 1985; übersetzung in: M. Levey, *Medical Ethics of Medieval Islam with Special Reference to al-Ruhāwī's "Practical Ethics of the Physician"*, Philadelphia 1967 (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge*. New Series 57,3); dazu die kritische Rezension von J. Ch. Bürgel in: *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 220, 1968, S. 215-227.

9. Ebenda, S. 219; bei Levey S. 73a.

tatsächlich von ihm stammt, obwohl er nur in arabischen Zitaten erhalten ist, die Franz Rosenthal gesammelt und übersetzt hat.[11] Denn auch einiges andere Material der Rosenthalschen Sammlung findet sich bei al-Ruhāwī unter ausdrücklicher Berufung auf Galen und den Eid wieder, so die Geschichte von der Einladung des persischen Königs an Hippokrates[12] oder die anfängliche Sitte, die ärztliche Kunst nur die eigenen Kinder zu lehren.[13]

In dem Kommentar lesen wir ausführliche Mitteilungen zu Asklepios, der in der Schwurformel des Eides allein noch mit seinem richtigen Namen genannt ist. Der Verfasser, der Pergamon als "meine Stadt" bezeichnet, was auf Galen zutreffen würde,[14] hat den Typ der dort im groflen Heiligtum aufgestellten Asklepiosstatue vor Augen.[15] Auf seine Weise war Galen im persönlichen Leben durchaus asklepiosgläubig.[16] Bemerkenswert sind auf diesem Hintergrund seine Versuche, die alten Mythen, die sich um die Gestalt des Asklepios ranken, allegorisch zu deuten. Auch in seinem "Protreptikos" erwähnt Galen Dionysos und Asklepios als die Lehrer des Weinbaus und der Medizin, die entweder ursprünglich Menschen oder aber immer schon Götter waren.[17] Er war also mythologischen Themen durchaus nicht abgeneigt. Als Kommentator des Eides bezieht er sich auf die erste Möglichkeit und erzählt von Asklepios, daß er wegen seiner Verdienste in einer Feuersäule zu den

10. *Ethnicorum quae supersunt*, hrsg. v. A. Meineke, Berlin 1849, s.v. Σύρνα.

11. *An Ancient Commentary of the Hippocratic Oath.* In: *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 30, 1958, S. 52-87.

12. Levey, S. 72a-b; Rosenthal, S. 77-79.

13. Levey, S. 79a-b; Rosenthal, S. 80f.; vgl. weiter zum Thema der Abtreibung Levey, S. 56a-b, was auch von Rhazes im *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*, Bd. 9, Hyderabad-Deccan 1960, S. 138,19-139,8 u. 146,5-9 unter Berufung auf den Eidkommentar zitiert wird, ferner ‚ber den Blasenstein Levey, S. 56b-57a, und dasselbe bei Rhazes, Bd 10, Hyderabad-Deccan 1961, S. 124,13-15.

14. Rosenthal, S. 60.

15. G. Strohmaier, *Asklepios und das Ei. Zur Ikonographie in einem arabisch erhaltenen Kommentar zum hippokratischen Eid.* In: *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben.* Festschrift für Franz Altheim, hrsg. v. R. Stiehl u. H. E. Stier, Bd. 2, Berlin 1970, S. 143-153 u. 448-454.

16. F. Kudlien, *Galen's Religious Belief.* In: V. Nutton (Hrsg.), *Galen: Problems and Prospects*, London 1981, S. 117-130.

17. 9,2: *Galeni De optimo docendi genere. Exhortatio ad medicinam (Protrepticus)*, hrsg. v. A. Barigazzi, Berlin 1991 (*Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* V 1,1), S. 132,18-21.

Göttern, bzw. in der christlich-arabischen übersetzung zu den Engeln, erhoben wurde. Darüber hinaus meint er, daß die landläufigen Geschichten von seiner Vergöttlichung dummes Geschwätz seien. Er spielt damit offenbar auf den alten Mythos an, dem zufolge Asklepios von Zeus mit dem Blitz erschlagen wurde, weil er einen Toten wieder zum Leben erweckte, womit er seine ärztlichen Kompetenzen überschritten hatte. Galen deutet den Vorgang, den er doch nicht ganz leugnen will, in der Weise, daß der sterbliche irdische Teil durch das Feuer vernichtet und die unsterbliche Seele zum Himmel erhoben wurde.[18]

Man versteht aber, daß diese Himmelfahrt einer heidnischen Gottheit in christlicher Zeit unsinnig erscheinen muflte, was sicher dazu beitrug, daß dieser Kommentar zum Eid in Byzanz nicht weiter abgeschrieben wurde. Im orientalisch-christlichen Milieu aber hat der übersetzer Ḥunayn mit einer in den Text eingefügten Anmerkung den Anstoß beseitigt: "Galen erläutert an dieser Stelle, wie der Mensch Gott ähnlich wird. Und zwar sagt er, daß ein Mensch Gott ähnlich wird, wenn er seine körperlichen Gelüste - und sie meint er mit dem 'sterblichen irdischen Teil' - durch das Feuer der Standhaftigkeit und der Enthaltsamkeit abtötet und seine vernünftige Seele von diesen Gelüsten fernhält und sie so mit den Tugenden schmückt - und das meint er mit der Erhebung zum Himmel."[19] Ḥunayn bewegt sich damit genau in der Denkweise der nestorianischen Christologie und Anthropologie. Gottheit und Menschheit haben sich in Christus nicht wirklich vereinigt, vielmehr fand eine Einwohnung statt, wobei der menschliche Teil sich dem göttlichen vollkommen angeglichen hat. Das kann dem normalen Menschen zum Vorbild gereichen, indem er seine niederen Triebe aktiv unterdrückt und sich so dem göttlichen Geist annähert.[20] Gleiches mufl also nach der Meinung des übersetzers auch schon in der heidnischen Antike möglich gewesen sein.

Die euhemeristische Tendenz, die Olympier als vergöttliche Sterbliche aufzufassen, hat im Falle des Asklepios reale historische Gründe; denn viele Einzelzüge seines Kultes sind chthonischer Natur und erweisen ihn als einen Heros, einen gewöhnlichen Sterblichen, der an seinem

18. Rosenthal, S. 61f. u. 67.

19. Rosenthal, S. 67.

20. Vgl. A. v. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Bd. 2, 4. Aufl., Tübingen 1909, S. 339-349.

21. Ch. Benedum, *Der frühe Asklepios.* In: *Orbis Terrarum* 2, 1996, S. 9-40.

Grabe Orakel erteilte, was allerdings in der neuesten Forschung als eine sekundäre Entwicklung gedeutet oder überhaupt bestritten wird.[21] Bei dem arabischen Medizinhistoriker Ibn abī Uṣaybiʿa, dem wir auch die ausführlichsten Fragmente des Eidkommentars verdanken, gibt es dazu eine interessante Notiz, die in den einschlägigen Publikationen noch nicht zur Kenntnis genommen wurde: "Es sagte ein anderer: Asklepios wurde bei den Griechen sehr verehrt, und sie suchten Heilung bei seinem Grabe, und es wird gesagt, dafl auf seinem Grab jede Nacht tausend Lampen angezündet wurden."[22] Eine genauere Quelle ist nicht angegeben, aber eine arabische Erfindung kann es aus inhaltlichen Gründen nicht sein. Die Erwähnung der Lampen paflt gut zu dem, was wir sonst über die Besonderheiten des Asklepioskultes wissen.[23]

Im Gegensatz zu den gewaltsamen Umdeutungen der christlichen übersetzer zeigt der muslimische Universalgelehrte al-Bīrūnī (973-1048) eine ganz andere und sehr objektive Haltung, wobei er unvermeidlicherweise von deren Texten abhängig war. Er begegnete in Indien einer hinduistischen Religiosität mit einer reichen Mythologie. Dabei drängten sich ihm griechische Parallelen auf, die ihm aus der übersetzten Literatur bekannt waren. Der Umfang ist erstaunlich, wenn man bedenkt, daß die schöne Literatur von den übersetzern ausgeklammert worden war. Er fand die indischen Lehren von der Seelenwanderung in den platonischen Dialogen wieder, aber auch die sehr altertümliche Geschichte von Zeus, den sein Vater Kronos verschlingen wollte,[24] las er an einer sehr entlegenen Stelle, nämlich in Galens De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos.[25] Die Geschichte von Dike, der am Himmel als Sternbild anzuschauenden Jungfrau,[26] kannte er aus Arats *Phainomena* (Verse 96-134); sie diente ihm zum Vergleich mit analogen indi-

22. S.o. Anm. 1, S. 16,2f.; vgl. dazu mit weiteren Belegen: G. Strohmaier, *Zur Herkunft des fskulapstabes*. In: *XXIIe congrés international d'histoire de la médecine*, Bukarest-Constantza 1970, S. 503f. (Nachdruck in: *Von Demokrit bis Dante* ... [s.o. Anm. 2], S. 65f.).

23. Vgl. E. J. u. L. Edelstein, *Asclepius*, Baltimore 1945 (Nachdr. Baltimore, London 1998), Bd. 2, S. 194 u. 197f.

24. *Fītaḥqīq mā li-'l-Hind*, hrsg. v. E. Sachau, London 1887, S. 46,21f.; übers. in: E. C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, London 1888, Bd. 1, S. 96.

25. IX 4: Claudii Galeni *Opera omnia*, hrsg. v. C. G. K¸hn, Bd. 13, Leipzig 1827, S. 271,13-17.

26. *Fītaḥqīq* ..., S. 192,12-193,4; übers. in: *Alberuni's India*, Bd. 1, S. 383f.

schen Vorstellungen von einem einstmals Goldenen Zeitalter. Das Gedicht war zusammen mit einem Kommentar übersetzt worden, hieraus entnahm er vermutlich auch die Lokalsage von dem aus dem Samen des Hephaistos und der athenischen Erde entsprossenen Erichthonios.[27]

Bei all seinen Vergleichen vergiflt al-Bīrūnī nicht zu betonen, daß es im Unterschied zu Indien in Griechenland aufgeklärte Philosophen gab, welche den primitiven Volksglauben überwanden und für die gebildete Elite logisch fundierte Grundsätze aufstellten. Einer von ihnen war Sokrates, der zum Märtyrer seiner überzeugung wurde, "als er der breiten Masse seines Volkes in der Frage des Götzendienstes widersprach und es ablehnte, die Planeten mit seinem Munde Götter zu nennen."[28] Hier ist der Gelehrte von einer Legendenbildung beeinflusst, die nach dem Bild der in islamischer Zeit weiterlebenden sabischen Religion geformt war.[29]

Ursache solcher Veränderungen in der überlieferung ist oftmals ein sorgloses Nacherzählen aus dem Gedächtnis. Ein Beispiel bietet al-Bīrūnīs berühmter Kollege Avicenna in seinem in früher Jugend verfassten *"Buch über die Seele in Form eines Kompendiums"*. Da steht am Anfang eine nicht exakte Reminiszenz an die griechische Religionsgeschichte. "An der Gebetsnische des Tempel des Asklepios ..., der durch sein Gebet Kranke heilte", sei als Inschrift die Mahnung zu lesen gewesen: "Erkenne deine Seele, o Mensch, so erkennst du deinen Herrn." Gemeint ist die in den Platonischen Dialogen mehrfach erwähnte Inschrift "Erkenne dich selbst" am Tempel des delphischen Apollo, der hier mit seinem Sohn Asklepios verwechselt ist, der nun seinerseits nicht in eigener göttlicher Vollmacht, sondern wie ein christlicher oder muslimischer Heiliger auftritt.[30] Noch seltsamer ist in Avicennas allegorischer Erzählung vom *"Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān"* eine in die poetische Schilderung der Planetensphären eingeschobene Bemerkung, daß Mars, der Herr der Kriegerischen und Mordlustigen, den Chroniken zufolge einmal in die Venus

27. *Fītaḥqīq* ..., S. 202,20f.; übers. in: *Alberuni's India*, Bd. 2, S. 355; vgl. dazu C. Robert (Hrsg.), *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Reliquiae*, Berlin 1878, S. 98 u. 100.

28. *Fītaḥqīq* ..., S. 12,16f.; übers. in: *Alberuni's India*, Bd. 1, S. 25.

29. G. Strohmaier, *Das Bild des Sokrates in der arabischen Literatur des Mittelalters*. In: H. Kessler (Hrsg.), *Sokrates. Bruchstücke zu einem Porträt* (*Sokrates-Studien* 3), Kusterdingen 1997, S. 105-124.

30. S. Landauer, *Die Psychologie des Ibn Sīnā*. In: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 29, 1876, S. 375.

verliebt gewesen sei. Das ist nichts anderes als ein fernes Echo auf den Gesang vom Ehebruch des Ares mit Aphrodite, vorgetragen am Königshof im Lande der Phäaken (*Odyssee* VIII, 266-366). Die homerischen Epen lagen mit Sicherheit nicht in arabischer übersetzung vor, aber man kann annehmen, daß in irgendeiner noch nicht ermittelten astrologischen Abhandlung eine allegorische Deutung der anstößigen Geschichte vorgetragen war.[31]

131. A. F. Mehren (Hrsg.), *Traités mystiques ... d'Avicenne*, Fasz. 1, Leiden 1889, S. 11,7f.; die übersetzung bei H. Corbin (*Avicenna and the visionary recital*, Princeton N.J. 1960 [Bollingen Series 66], S. 144) ist ungenau.

Αλέξανδρος Τσάκος

ΔΥΟ ΕΠΙΤΥΜΒΙΕΣ ΣΤΗΛΕΣ ΣΤΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΗ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΗ ΝΟΥΒΙΑ

1. Εισαγωγή

Σκοπός της παρούσας εργασίας είναι η παρουσίαση δύο ελληνικών χριστιανικών επιγραφών από τη Νουβία. Αυτές παραχωρήθηκαν στο γράφοντα από το Διευθυντή Ανασκαφών στο Εθνικό Συμβούλιο Αρχαιοτήτων και Μουσείων του Σουδάν, Salah Omer Al Sadig, με στόχο την ενίσχυση (και στην Ελλάδα) των ερευνών που εξετάζουν τη θέση της ελληνικής γλώσσας στα μεσαιωνικά βασίλεια της Νουβίας, καθώς και το χαρακτήρα του νουβικού Χριστιανισμού. Το θέμα του Θ' Συνεδρίου Ελληνο-Ανατολικών και Αφρικανικών Σπουδών περιόρισε την προσέγγιση του ζητήματος στην ιστορική του κυρίως διάσταση. Τα γλωσσολογικά στοιχεία θα παρουσιαστούν σε επόμενη εργασία.

2. Οι επιγραφές

Πρόκειται για δύο επιτύμβιες στήλες από πηλό (επιγραφές υπ'αριθμόν 31102 και 31103 του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου στο Χαρτούμ[1]) που βρέθηκαν σε αποσπασματική μορφή στο ύψος του δέκατου όγδοου παραλλήλου (βλ. **χάρτη**) και περιέχουν τμήμα της προσευχής που λεγόταν στη Νουβία σε ανάμνηση των νεκρών[2]. Η ίδια αυτή προσευχή ψάλλεται μέχρι σήμε-

1. Η έρευνα πραγματοποιήθηκε στην Ελλάδα επί των γύψινων εκμαγείων που κατασκεύασε η συντηρήτρια του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου του Χαρτούμ Amal Mohamed Ahmed.

2. Jadwiga Kubinska, *Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes (FARAS IV)*, Βαρσοβία, 1974 (κεφ. 3: Σχολιασμός της Νουβικής Προσευχής, σ. 69-86)

ρα στις κηδείες των Ορθόδοξων Χριστιανών, αλλά σε επιτύμβιες στήλες χρησιμοποιήθηκε για πρώτη και μοναδική φορά στη μεσαιωνική Νουβία. Το πλήρες κείμενό της περιλαμβάνεται στο Ευχολόγιο που δημοσίευσε τον ΙΗ' αιώνα στη Βενετία, ο Δομινικανός μοναχός J.Goar[3]: *Ὁ Θεός τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταπατήσας, τὸν δὲ διάβολον καταργήσας, καὶ ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ σου δωρησάμενος, αὐτὸς Κύριε ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ κεκοιμημένου δούλου σου τοῦδε, ἐν τόπῳ χλοερῷ, ἐν τόπῳ ἀναψύξεως, ἔνθαα ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη, λύπη καὶ στεναγμός. Πᾶν ἁμάρτημα τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ πραχθέν, ἐν λόγῳ, ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ διανοίᾳ, ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς συγχώρησον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ὃς ζήσεται καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσει. Σὺ γὰρ μόνος ἐκτὸς ἁμαρτίας, ἡ δικαιοσύνη σου δικαιοσύνη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἀλήθεια. Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ἡ ἀνάστασις, ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις τοῦ κεκοιμημένου δούλου σου, τοῦδε, Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν σὺ τῷ ἀνάρχῳ σου Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου Πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

Ας δούμε λεπτομερέστερα τις υπό εξέταση επιγραφές:

Α. Ανω τμήμα ενεπίγραφης επιτύμβιας στήλης με καμπυλόσχημη επίστεψη (πλάτους 0,035 μ.), στην κατώτερη ζώνη της οποίας σώζεται εγχάρακτος σταυρός **(εικ. 1).**

Υλικό: Πηλός

Τόπος Εύρεσης: Goshabi (Γεωγρ. Πλάτος 18° Γεωγρ. Μήκος 31°06').

Σωζόμενες διαστάσεις: Μέγιστο πλάτος 0,17 μ., μέγιστο ύψος 0,13 μ., πάχος 0,025-0,04 μ. Ύψος γραμμάτων: 0,015 μ.

Κατάσταση διατήρησης: Σώζεται μόνο το ανώτερο δεξιό τμήμα.

Κείμενο: *ὁ Θ(εό)ς τῶν*
[πν(ευ)]μάτων καὶ
[πάσης σαρκός], ὁ τὸν
4 *[θάνατο]ν καταργέσ[ας,*

Β. Αριστερό τμήμα ενεπίγραφης επιτύμβιας στήλης με καμπυλόσχημη άνω απόληξη **(εικ. 2).** Παράλληλες εγχαράξεις δηλώνουν τις γραμμές πάνω στις οποίες αναγράφεται το κείμενο.

3. Jacques Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum*, Βενετία 1730 (Graz 1970, σ. 424)

Υλικό: Πηλός

Τόπος Εύρεσης: Εκκλησία στο βόρειο τμήμα της νήσου El-Usheir (Γεωγρ. Πλάτος 18°29' Γεωγρ. Μήκος 33°41').

Σωζόμενες διαστάσεις: Μέγιστο πλάτος 0,17 μ., μέγιστο ύψος 0,24 μ., πάχος 0,052 μ. Ύψος γραμμάτων: 0,015 εκ.

Κατάσταση διατήρησης: Σώζεται το αριστερό τμήμα 12 γραμμών κειμένου, εκ των οποίων οι 8 (3-10) σχεδόν κατά τα _ του υπολογιζόμενου συνολικού πλάτους της ενεπίγραφης επιφάνειας.

Κείμενο: [Α+Ω]
Ὁ Θ(εό)ς [τῶν πν(ευμ)άτων]
καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ τὸν
4 θάνατον κατα[ργήσας, καὶ ζω]
ὴν τῷ κόσμῳ σου χ[αρισάμενος],
ἀνάπαυσον τ[ὴν] ψυ[χὴν τοῦ δού]
λου σου τοῦδε, ἐν τώπω φω],
8 τινα, ἐν τώπ[ω ἀναψύξεως, ἔνθα]
[ἀ]πέδρα ὀδύνη, [λύπη καὶ στενα]
γμοὶς. Πᾶν ἁμ[άρτημα τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ]
πραχθέν, ἐν λ[όγῳ, ἢ ἔργω ἢ κατ]
12 [α] διανί[αν, ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάν(θρωπ)ος]

Η δεύτερη επιγραφή μοιάζει να αποτελεί το πάρεισο της πρώτης, αφού σώζει το αριστερό τμήμα που λείπει από αυτήν, καθώς και μια τυπικότατη μορφή της συνέχειας του κειμένου. Από το 1958 γνωρίζουμε ότι η αρχαιότερη γραπτή εκδοχή αυτής της προσευχής για τους νεκρούς βρίσκεται σε έναν πάπυρο των τελών του ΣΤ' ή των αρχών του Ζ αιώνα από τη Νεσσάνα της Παλαιστίνης[4]. Σε αυτόν αναγράφεται:

Ὁ Θ(εό)ς [τῶν πν(ευμ)άτων] καὶ πάσης σαρκός,
ὁ τὸν] θάνα[τον κατα]ργέσας, καὶ τὸ[ν Ἄδην κατα
πατή]σας τῷ κόσμῳ σου χ[αρισάμεν
ος], ἀνάπαυσον τ[ὴν] ψυ[χὲ τοῦ δο[ύλο]υ σου
ἐν τώπω φ]ωτινώ, ἐν τώπω ἀνα[ψύξεως,
ἔνθα]πέδρα ὀδύνη, κ(αὶ) λύπη καὶ στενα]γμός.
.... π]αρ' αὐτοῦ πραχθέν,

4. C.J. Kraemer, *Excavations at Nessana*, vol. III, *Non-literary papyri*, Princeton 1958, σ. 309-310, n° 96

.... ὡς ἀγαθὸς κ[(αὶ) φιλάν(θρωπ)ος] συγχώ]ρεσω[ν
ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ὃς ζήσεται κ(αὶ) οὐχ ἁμ]αρτήσε[ι

Προκαλεί κατ' αρχάς εντύπωση η ομοιότητα αυτού του κειμένου με την επιγραφή από τη νήσο του El-Usheir. Προφανώς η νουβική παραλλαγή της Προσευχής είναι ανεξάρτητη από αυτήν που καταγράφηκε στο Βυζαντινό Ευχολόγιο, αφού στο παλαιότατο αυτό σχετικό εύρημα από τη Νεσσάνα, όπως και στην επιγραφή από το El-Usheir, συναντώνται όλες οι βασικές διαφοροποιήσεις ανάμεσα στη νουβική και βυζαντινή εκδοχή της Προσευχής για τους Νεκρούς:

1. Αντιστροφή της θέσης των μετοχών καταργήσας και καταπατήσας.
2. Αντικατάσταση της λέξης "Άδη" από τη λέξη "διάβολο"[5].
3. Αντικατάσταση της μετοχής "δωρησάμενος" από τη μετοχή "χαρισάμενος".
4. Απουσία της έκφρασης "εν τώπω φωτινώ" από το Βυζαντινό Ευχολόγιο[6].

Από το κείμενο του Goar, όσο και από το παλαιότερο χειρόγραφο Βυζαντινού Ευχολογίου, το οποίο χρονολογείται στον Η' αιώνα[7], απουσιάζει επίσης η έκφραση "εν κόλποις Αβραάμ, Ισαάκ και Ιακώβ". Η φράση αυτή, αντίθετα, εμφανίζεται στα περισσότερα από τα υπόλοιπα ευρήματα από τη Νουβία[8], τα οποία άλλοτε περιέχουν ολόκληρη και άλλοτε τμήματα της Προσευχής για τους Νεκρούς, υποδεικνύοντας ότι πιθανώς το κείμενό της αποτελεί δημιούργημα των εκκλησιαστικών κύκλων της Νουβίας. Θα μπορούσε κανείς να υποθέσει ότι η ελληνική αυτή προσευχή, της οποίας η προέλευση προς το παρόν εντοπίζεται στη Συροπαλαιστίνη, αποτελούσε κατά το Μεσαίωνα ίδιον του νουβικού Χριστιανισμού. Για την κατανόηση αυτού του φαινομένου θα ήταν χρήσιμο να γίνει μια σύντομη παρουσίαση της ιστορίας της χριστιανικής Νουβίας, ώστε να σχηματίσει κανείς μια εικόνα για

5. Η εκδοχή "διάβολος" συναντάται στη στήλη του Επισκόπου Ιγνατίου από το Φαράς (πρβλ. Πίνακα 1).

6. Η έκφραση αυτή, μάλιστα, εμφανίζει δύο από τις χαρακτηριστικότερες ιδιομορφίες των νουβικών Ελληνικών: την έκταση του βραχέος "ο" σε "ω" στο ουσιαστικό "τόπος", και τον ιωτακισμό στο επίθετο φωτ(ε)ινός. Από την άλλη πλευρά, η κατάληξη "-α" του ίδιου επιθέτου στην επιγραφή από το el-Usheir, αποτελεί κατά πάσα πιθανότητα σφάλμα του χαράκτη.

7. Πρόκειται, σύμφωνα με τον Beck, "Kirche und Theologie Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich", *Byzantinisches Hamdbuch*, II τμήμα, I τόμος, Μόναχο 1959, σ. 246, για τον Barberinus III 55.

τον ρόλο της ελληνικής γλώσσας στα εκεί βασίλεια, αλλά και της συγκεκριμένης προσευχής ως χαρακτηριστικού παραδείγματος της νουβικής Χριστιανοσύνης.

3. Γεωγραφικός και χρονολογικός προσδιορισμός[9]

Η Νουβία είναι το τμήμα της κοιλάδας του Νείλου όπου σχηματίζονται οι έξι μεγάλοι καταρράκτες του ποταμού. Εκτείνεται από την ένωση του Κυανού και του Λευκού Νείλου, στο σημερινό Χαρτούμ, ως το Ασσουάν. Κατά τα χρόνια των ελληνιστικών βασιλείων και κατά την περίοδο της Ρωμαϊκής Αυτοκρατορίας, η περιοχή αυτή ανήκε στο μεροϊτικό βασίλειο. Από τον Δ' μ.Χ. αιώνα, όμως, το κράτος της Μερόης παρακμάζει και υπό την πίεση εξωτερικών εχθρών αντικαθίσταται σταδιακά από τρία νέα βασίλεια:

α) Ανάμεσα στους δύο πρώτους καταρράκτες αναπτύχθηκε το βασίλειο της Νοβατίας, με πρωτεύουσα το Φαράς. Οι Νοβάτες πιθανώς προέρχονταν από τις Δυτικές Οάσεις και εγκαταστάθηκαν στην περιοχή από το Διοκλητιανό (298 μ.Χ.), προκειμένου να αποτελέσουν την αμυντική γραμμή της Ρωμαϊκής Αυτοκρατορίας απέναντι στους απειλητικούς Βλέμμυες των παράλιων κυρίως εκτάσεων στα ανατολικά[10]. Η Νοβατία είχε, όπως ήταν λογικό λόγω της γεωγραφικής της θέσης, τις περισσότερες επαφές με την Αίγυπτο και τον υπόλοιπο κόσμο προς Βορρά.

β) Από τον δεύτερο καταρράκτη ως τη συμβολή του Νείλου με τον ποταμό Άτμπαρα, λίγο πάνω από τη Μερόη, την περιοχή ήλεγχε το βασίλειο της Μακουρίας, με πρωτεύουσα την Ντόνγκολα. Από τον Η' αιώνα η Μακουρία κυριάρχησε επί της Νοβατίας και η Ντόνγκολα έγινε η πρωτεύουσα του ενωμένου χριστιανικού βασιλείου της

8. Εξαίρεση αποτελούν η πήλινη επιτύμβια στήλη από το el-Usheir (πρβλ. Πίνακα 2), ο δίσκος προσφορών του Βασιλέως Γεωργίου από το Wadi-Natrun και η προαναφερθείσα (σημ. 6) του Επισκόπου Ιγνατίου από το Φαράς (πρβλ. Πίνακα 1).

9. Για μια σύντομη επισκόπηση της γεωγραφίας και της ιστορίας της Νουβίας, βλ. *E.I.*[2], 8, Leiden 1995, σσ. 90-95 (γαλλική έκδοση). Γενικότερο αλλά πλήρες είναι το Adams, W.Y., *Nubia: Corridor to Africa,* Λονδίνο 1977. Η μοναδική μονογραφία σχετικά με τον νουβικό Χριστιανισμό ανήκει στον Giovanni Vantini, *Christianity in the Sudan*, Bologna 1981.

10. Προκόπιος, *Υπέρ των Πολέμων Λόγοι* (1.19.27-1.20.2)

Νουβίας.

γ) Τέλος, από το νότιο όριο της Μακουρίας ως την περιοχή νότια της συμβολής του Γαλάζιου και του Λευκού Νείλου απλωνόταν το βασίλειο της Αλοδίας με πρωτεύουσα τη Σόμπα. Το βασίλειο αυτό πιθανώς δέχτηκε τη μεγαλύτερη επιρροή από την Αιθιοπία, ήταν αναμφίβολα ο βασικός δίαυλος επικοινωνίας με την αφρικανική ενδοχώρα και το φυσικό της πλούτο, και μάλλον κράτησε τη μεγαλύτερη απόσταση από τα δύο άλλα βασίλεια της μεσαιωνικής Νουβίας, καθώς και από τη συμμετοχή τους στα τεκταινόμενα στο Βορρά[11].

4. Ο εκχριστιανισμός της Νουβίας

Ο εκχριστιανισμός της Νοβατίας, της Μακουρίας και της Αλοδίας συντελέστηκε σε τρεις φάσεις:

- Κατ' αρχάς, η μοναστική ζωή που άνθισε στην Άνω Αίγυπτο δεν άφησε ανεπηρέαστη τη Νουβία. Η διάδοση του Χριστιανισμού από εξόριστους μοναχούς ή "αγίους", των οποίων η φήμη προσείλκυσε ανθρώπους από όλες τις γύρω περιοχές (άρα και από τα βασίλεια των Νοβάτων και των Βλέμμυων), αποτυπώθηκε στους τάφους των οικισμών κατά μήκος των δύο πρώτων καταρρακτών του Νείλου: από τον Δ' προς τον Ε' μ.Χ. αιώνα και από Βορρά προς Νότο παρατηρείται μια προοδευτική αντικατάσταση των παγανιστικών κτερισμάτων από χριστιανικά[12].
- Την ίδια εποχή, τα στρατεύματα του Εζανά καταλύουν το μεροϊτικό βασίλειο, και πιθανώς η ζωή στη νότια Νουβία αναδιοργανώνεται βάσει των νέων προτύπων που φέρνουν οι Χριστιανοί Αιθίοπες. Οι επιγραφές που βρέθηκαν στη Μερόη[13] και μαρτυρούν για αυτήν την κατάκτηση δεν κάνουν λόγο για ριζοσπαστικές πολιτειακές αλλαγές_ είναι, όμως, σαφές ότι η κατάλυση του μεροϊτικού κράτους οδήγησε σε ανακατατάξεις στον ευρύτερο χώρο της Νουβίας, στις οποίες σημαντικό ρόλο θα έπαιξαν και όσοι από τους Αιθίοπες παρέμειναν στην κοιλάδα του Νείλου[14].
- Το τελικό στάδιο της ενσωμάτωσης των βασιλείων της Νουβίας στο χριστιανικό κόσμο σφραγίστηκε από την ιεραποστολική δραστηριότητα που έλαβε χώρα κατά τη βασιλεία του Ιουστινιανού και της Θεοδώρας[15]. Η βασική μας πηγή για την εποχή αυτή είναι ο Προκόπιος. Στο έργο του *Υπέρ των Πολέμων Λόγοι* αναφέρεται μόνο στην πρώτη φάση της αυτοκρατορικής παρέμβασης στα νότια της Αιγύπτου[16]. Μαθαίνουμε, λοιπόν, εκεί από αυτόν ότι το 540 μ.Χ. ο αυτοκράτορας μετέτρεψε τον αρχαίο ναό της Ίσιδος στις Φίλες (κοντά στο Ασσουάν) σε χριστιανική εκκλησία αφιερωμένη στη μνήμη του Αγίου Στεφάνου.

Από τη Σύνοδο της Χαλκηδόνας (451 μ.Χ.) και εξής, όμως, οι πολιτικές αντιδικίες εκφράζονταν με τους κώδικες της θεολογίας. Γνωρίζουμε, λοιπόν, από την *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία* του Μονοφυσίτη Ιωάννη Εφέσου ή Ασίας, η οποία γράφτηκε στα συριακά[17], ότι τρία χρόνια μετά τα γεγονότα στις Φίλες ένας Μονοφυσίτης μοναχός, ονόματι Ιουλιανός, έφτασε στη Νοβατία ως απεσταλμένος της Θεοδώρας και κατόρθωσε να προσηλυτίσει το βασίλειο στο Μονοφυσιτισμό. Εικάζεται ότι μια παράλληλη ιεραποστολή του ορθόδοξου αυτοκράτορα απέτυχε μπροστά στις δολοπλοκίες της Θεοδώρας προς ενίσχυση του Ιουλιανού, και στράφηκε προς τη Μακουρία, την οποία και κέρδισε για τον Ιουστινιανό και τη μελκιτική ορθοδοξία. Οι ανισορροπίες που προέκυψαν από τις πρώτες αυτές ιεραποστολές ανάγκασαν την Αυτο-

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11. πρβλ. Derek A. Welsby, "A Perspective of Nubia from Soba", *Nubian Culture, Past and Present* (Main Papers Presented at the Sixth Conference for Nubian Studies in Uppsala, 11-16 August, 1986, ed. By Tomas Hägg), Sweden 1987, σσ. 279-284 και T. Hägg, "Greek in Upper Nubia: An Assessment of the New Material", *Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille 17/3* (1998), σσ. 113-115.

12. David N. Edwards, "The Christianisation of Nubia: some archaeological pointers", *SUDAN & NUBIA*, The Sudan Archaeological Research Society, Bull. No. 5 (2001), σσ. 89-96

13. *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*. Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the 8th century B.C. and the 6th century A.D. (ed. T. Eide, T.

Hägg, R.H. Pierce, L. Török), vol. III: From the 1st to the 6th century A.D., Bergen 1998, σσ. 1066-1072 (αρ. 285, 286)

14. Ο G. Vantini, μάλιστα, υποθέτει ότι στην Αλοδία και τη Μακουρία θα βασίλευσαν απόγονοι των στρατηγών του Εζανά (*ό.π.*, σ. 32).

15. Εκτός των ήδη αναφερθέντων στις σημ. 9 και 12, πρβλ. L. Török, *Late Antique Nubia*, 1988, Gamal Mohamed Ahmed el-Tahir, *Βυζαντινο-Νουβικά: Η συμβολή των Σουδανών στην άμυνα της Βυζαντινής Αιγύπτου* (αδημοσίευτη Διδακτορική Διατριβή), Ιωάννινα 1994, σσ. 59-64, J.W. Crowfoot, "Christian Nubia", *JEA 12* (1927), σσ. 141-150, L.P. Kirwan, "Some Thoughts on the Conversion of Nubia to Christianity", *Nubian Studies* 1978, σσ. 142-145.

16. ό.π., σημ. 10

17. Το κείμενο μεταφράστηκε στα αγγ λικά από τον Payne το 1860 και στα γερμανικά από τον Schönfelder το 1862. Η πληρέστερη προσβάσιμη απόδοση της αφήγησης του Ιωάννη βρίσκεται στο Adams, W.Y., *ό.π.*, σσ. 441-442

κρατορία να κινητοποιήσει για δεύτερη φορά μια ανάλογη δραστηριότητα.

Το έτος 569 μ.Χ. έφτασε στη Νοβατία ο Λογγίνος, "ένας Αλεξανδρινός που έγινε μέλος της μονοφυσιτικής εκκλησίας στην Αντιόχεια και εστάλη στην Κωνσταντινούπολη ως αποκρισάριος του Πατριάρχη Αντιοχείας Παύλου"[18]. Παρέμεινε αρχικά στη Νοβατία ως το 575 μ.Χ., γεγονός που επιβεβαιώνει την επιτυχία της μονοφυσιτικής ιεραποστολής στο βόρειο βασίλειο της Νουβίας. Μετά από αναγκαστική πενταετή απουσία, επέστρεψε το 580 μ.Χ. στο Φαράς για να εδραιώσει το έργο του[19], αλλά και να το επεκτείνει ως την Αλοδία, όπου τον είχε προσκαλέσει ο ίδιος ο βασιλιάς της Σόμπα. Από τα γράμματά του αφ'ενός υποθέτουμε την ύπαρξη δογματικών διαφορών ανάμεσα στη Νοβατία και τη Μακουρία, και αφ'ετέρου πληροφορούμαστε για την ύπαρξη Αφθαρτοδοκιστών στη Σόμπα, μιας αίρεσης που έφτασε στην κοιλάδα του Νείλου από την Αραβία[20] μέσω της Αιθιοπίας και μαρτυρεί για τις επαφές της Αλοδίας με το Αξούμ και τους επιγόνους του.

5. Η εξέλιξη του Χριστιανισμού στη Νουβία μέσα από το παράδειγμα των χρησιμοποιούμενων γλωσσών.

Στα χρόνια κατά τα οποία εδραιώνεται ο Χριστιανισμός η ελληνική γλώσσα ήταν ήδη διαδεδομένη στη Μέση Κοιλάδα του Νείλου ως αποτέλεσμα της πτολεμαϊκής και ρωμαϊκής κυριαρχίας στην Αίγυπτο. Χαρακτηριστικά αναφέρεται ότι το 1976 ανακαλύφθηκε στο Qasr Ibrim ένα ελληνικό χειρόγραφο που περιέχει μια διπλωματικού ενδιαφέροντος επιστολή του Ε' μ.Χ. αιώνα από το βασιλιά των Βλέμμυων Φώνην προς το βασιλιά των Νοβάτων Αβούρνι. Φαίνεται ότι τα κράτη της Νουβίας, μετά την κατάρρευση της μεροϊτικής κυριαρχίας που συμπαρέσυρε και τη μεροϊτική γραφή, χρησιμοποιούσαν τα Ελληνικά για την εξυπηρέτηση των επίσημων επικοινωνιακών τους αναγκών[21].

18. G. Vantini, *ό.π.*, σ. 44

19. G. Vantini, *ό.π.*, σ. 45

20. Μετά την κατάκτηση της Αιγύπτου, οι Άραβες θα φθάνουν στη Νουβία κυρίως δια της οδού του Νείλου (πρβλ. F.Y. Hasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, Χαρτούμ 1973)

21. βλ. το τρίτομο Fontes Historiae Nubiorum (για το γράμμα του Φώνην συγκεκριμένα, βλ. τ. III, σσ. 1158-1165), και ειδικότερα T. Hägg, "Some Remarks on the Use of Greek in Nubia", *Nubian Studies* 1978, σσ. 103-107

Η γλωσσική αυτή κατάσταση συνεχίστηκε και στα χριστιανικά βασίλεια. Τα Ελληνικά κάλυψαν τις λειτουργικές ανάγκες της Εκκλησίας στη Νουβία, ως αποτέλεσμα της βυζαντινής παρέμβασης στα νότια της Αιγύπτου[22]. Οι εκστρατείες των Αράβων στην κοιλάδα του Νείλου άλλαξαν τα πολιτικοθρησκευτικά δεδομένα, αλλά οι δομές της βυζαντινής διοίκησης και εκκλησιαστικής ιεραρχίας διατηρήθηκαν. Ενώ, όμως, η Αίγυπτος εντάχθηκε στην Επικράτεια του Ισλάμ, η συνθήκη που όριζε τις σχέσεις Αράβων και Νουβίων αναγνώριζε έναν τελείως ιδιότυπο χαρακτήρα για τους πληθυσμούς νοτίως του Ασσουάν σε σχέση με τη μουσουλμανική αυτοκρατορία. Η συνθήκη αυτή ονομαζόταν Baqt και στην αρχική της μορφή απαγόρευε την κυκλοφορία Χριστιανών προς και από τη Νουβία[23].

Έχει αποδειχτεί[24] ότι οι πολιτικοί (π.χ. *βασιλίσκος, έπαρχος, ναύαρχος, δομέστικος*) και εκκλησιαστικοί (π.χ. *διάκονος, επίσκοπος, μητροπολίτης, πρεσβύτερος*) τίτλοι, καθώς και τα τιμητικά επίθετα (π.χ. *ενδοξότατος, επιφανέστατος, ευσεβέστατος*) των αξιωματούχων που αναφέρονται στα ελληνικά κείμενα από τη Νουβία ήταν μεν αποτέλεσμα άμεσης επιρροής από την Ανατολική Ρωμαϊκή Αυτοκρατορία, αλλά μόνο κατά την εποχή πριν από την κατάκτηση της Αιγύπτου από τους Άραβες στα μέσα του Ζ' αιώνα. Παρά, όμως, το φαινομενικό αποκλεισμό της Νουβίας από το χριστιανικό κόσμο της Μεσογείου, λόγω των ειδικών όρων της ιδιόμορφης αραβο-νουβικής συνθήκης, η χρήση βυζαντινοπρεπών τίτλων (των πρώτων βυζαντινών αιώνων) στα εκεί χριστιανικά βασίλεια συνεχίζεται μέχρι τον ΙΔ' αιώνα. Υπάρχουν, μάλιστα, και περιπτώσεις τίτλων που επινοήθηκαν στη Νουβία για να περιγράψουν συγκεκριμένα προφανώς αξιώματα που συναντώνται αποκλειστικά στις κοινωνίες των τριών βασιλείων της Μέσης Κοιλάδας του Νείλου (π.χ. *πρωτομειζότερος*). Αυτό υποδεικνύει ότι ορισμένες κυρίαρχες ομάδες της μεσαιωνικής Νουβίας χρησιμοποιούσαν κατά παράδοση την ελληνική γλώσσα ως μέσο προβολής των στόχων τους.

22. πρβλ. G. Vantini, σ. 45: "Longinus remained in Nobatia for six years. He was the first to organize the Nubian church, ordaining priests. He introduced a ritual of prayers no doubt on the model of the one in use in Byzantium, including the Greek language."

23. πρβλ. Christides Vassilios, "Nubia and Egypt from the Arab Invasion of Egypt until the End of the Umayyads", *Études Nubiennes 1 (1992)*, σσ. 343-346 και Gamal Mohamed Ahmed el-Tahir, *ό.π.*, σσ. 124-125 και 134-135

24. T. Hägg, "Titles and Honorific Epithets in Nubian Greek Texts", *Symbolae Osloenses LXV* (1990), σσ. 147-177

Η σύνδεση της χριστιανικής θρησκείας στη Νουβία με την παραδοσιακή πολιτειακή οργάνωση, και δη τον βασιλικό θεσμό[25], διευκόλυνε κατ' αρχάς την άσκηση της βυζαντινής πολιτικής. Από την άλλη πλευρά, μετά την επιβολή της αραβικής κυριαρχίας στο Νείλο, η Εκκλησία της Νουβίας ήταν εξαρτημένη από το Κοπτικό Πατριαρχείο της Αλεξάνδρειας, του εκκλησιαστικού παράγοντα που κυρίως απολάμβανε της ανοχής του ισλαμικού κράτους της Αιγύπτου. Αυτό ήταν αναπόφευκτο προκειμένου να εξασφαλιστεί η απρόσκοπτη τροφοδότηση των ενοριών στα τρία χριστιανικά βασίλεια με αναγνωρισμένους, από το πλησιέστερο ιστορικό κέντρο του Χριστιανισμού, ιερωμένους[26]. Η διάδοση της κοπτικής γλώσσας στη Νουβία από τους φορείς του αιγυπτιακού Χριστιανισμού άλλαξε την εικόνα της γλωσσικής κατάστασης στα χριστιανικά βασίλεια_ από τον Η' τουλάχιστον αιώνα χρησιμοποιούνται σε επίσημο επίπεδο τόσο τα Ελληνικά όσο και τα Κοπτικά. Σταδιακά διαμορφώνεται, βάσει των δομών των δύο αυτών γλωσσών, ένα σύστημα γραφής και για τη νουβική διάλεκτο, που πιθανώς ήταν η κυρίαρχη γλώσσα ανάμεσα στα γηγενή φύλα[27].

Παράλληλα, οι Χριστιανοί της Αιγύπτου πρέπει να αντιμετώπιζαν τα ανεξάρτητα χριστιανικά κράτη στα νότια της κατακτημένης από το Ισλάμ χώρας τους ως μια ελπιδοφόρα παρουσία: ο Χριστιανός βασιλιάς στην Ντόνγκολα διατηρούσε ζωντανό το όνειρο της επανίδρυσης μιας φαραωνικού τύπου εξουσίας στο Νείλο, η οποία θα προσέφερε εκ νέου στον τόπο την ισορροπία που είχε διασαλεύσει ο αυτοκράτορας από την Κωνσταντινούπολη και ο χαλίφης από τη Μέκκα, τη Μεδίνα ή τη Δαμασκό[28]. Διαμορφώθηκαν, λοιπόν, οι κατάλληλες συνθήκες ώστε να αναπτυχθεί σε όλη την Κοιλάδα

25. πρβλ. J.W. Crowfoot, *ό.π.*, σσ. 147-148 και Christides V., *ό.π.*, σ. 349: "The Nubian Church, which was always heavily patronaged by the Nubian king..."

26. πρβλ. Christides V., *ό.π.*, σσ. 348-349

27. πρβλ. P.L. Shinnie, "Multilingualism in medieval Nubia", *Studies presented in the Second International Conference sponsored by the Sudan Research Unit i'n December 1970*, edited with an introduction by Abdelgadir Mahmoud Abdalla, Khartoum University Press 1974, σσ. 41-47

28. Χαρακτηριστικό είναι το περιστατικό από τα μέσα του Η' αιώνα, όταν ο βασιλιάς της Νουβίας Κυριάκος εκστράτευσε με επιτυχία εναντίον της μουσουλμανικής Αιγύπτου για να απελευθερώσει τον Κόπτη Πατριάρχη Αλεξανδρείας που είχε αιχμαλωτίσει ο Εμίρης της Αιγύπτου (πρβλ. G. Vantini, *ό.π.*, σσ. 76-77).

του Νείλου, από τη Νουβία ως το Δέλτα, ένας ιδιαίτερου χαρακτήρα Χριστιανισμός, ο οποίος βασιζόταν σε μεγάλο βαθμό στις τοπικές παραδόσεις των Αιγυπτίων και των Νουβίων.

Από τα μέσα του Ζ' αιώνα, επομένως, λόγω της αραβικής κατάκτησης της Αιγύπτου, η Νουβία αποκλείεται από το μεσογειακό κόσμο και αναγκάζεται να επιστρατεύσει στο εξής παραδεδομένα μοντέλα, για να καλύψει τις λειτουργικές ανάγκες ενός συστήματος διαχείρισης του θρησκευτικού συναισθήματος που είχε κληροδοτηθεί από έναν άλλο κρατικό σχηματισμό, αλλά είχε εφαρμοστεί στις ανάγκες των κοινωνιών των βασιλείων της Νοβατίας, της Μακουρίας και της Αλοδίας.

6. Η περίοδος των Φατιμιδών

Όταν στην Αίγυπτο κυριάρχησαν πια οι Φατιμίδες (969-1169), τα χριστιανικά βασίλεια της Νουβίας εξελίχθηκαν σε συμμάχους της νέας σιιτικής αυτής δυναστείας, με κοινό εχθρό τους Σουνίτες Μουσουλμάνους στα (βορειο)ανατολικά[29]. Κατά τη διάρκεια, μάλιστα, της φατιμιδικής κυριαρχίας στην Αίγυπτο, Νούβιοι ευνούχοι κατείχαν τους δύο σημαντικότερους πολιτικούς τίτλους, αυτόν του mu'taman al-khilafa (Υπάτου Αρμοστή του Χαλιφάτου) και αυτόν του za'im al-khilafa (Ηγέτη του Χαλιφάτου)[30]. Οι καλές αυτές σχέσεις ευνόησαν βέβαια την εγκατάσταση Μουσουλμάνων στα χριστιανικά βασίλεια της Νουβίας, αλλά αυτό που έχει ιδιαίτερη σημασία για το θέμα μας ήταν η τροποποίηση ορισμένων όρων της Βἀῆὤ, που αφορούσαν στη δυνατότητα επαφών των Νουβίων με τα υπόλοιπα χριστιανικά κράτη[31].

Τριάντα χρόνια μετά την κατάληψη της εξουσίας από τους Φατιμίδες, ο *Μητροπολίτης* Πέτρος (976-999 μ.Χ.), ο οποίος ήταν επίσκοπος στο Φαράς και πιθανώς συνδεόταν με την κοπτική μητρόπολη της Αλεξάνδρειας, αντικαταστάθηκε από, ή συλλειτουργούσε με τον *Ορθόδοξο* Ιωάννη Γ' (997/8-1005/6 μ.Χ.), έτερο επίσκοπο στο Φαράς: αυτά μαρτυρούνται από

29. G. Vantini, *ό.π.*, σσ. 119

30. G. Vantini, *ό.π.*, σσ. 130

31. Οι αραβικές βιογραφίες των Πατριαρχών στην Αλεξάνδρεια αναφέρουν ότι (Vantini, G., *Oriental Sources concerning Nubia*, Χαϊδελβέργη - Βαρσοβία 1975, σ. 207-208) περί τα 1008 μ.Χ. ο al-Hakim ήρε την απαγόρευση επικοινωνίας των Χριστιανών με τη Νουβία.

τα αντίστοιχα επιτύμβια μνημεία των δύο επισκόπων[32]. Διατυπώθηκε, λοιπόν, η υπόθεση ότι στο διάστημα των δύο αυτών αιώνων κυριαρχούσε στην εκκλησιαστική ιεραρχία της Νουβίας η ορθόδοξη ή η μελκιτική μερίδα[33], κάτι που ίσως να σημαίνει την επαναδραστηριοποίηση της Βυζαντινής Αυτοκρατορίας στην Κοιλάδα του Νείλου. Εντούτοις, το ζήτημα παραμένει ανοικτό, επειδή, αφ'ενός υπάρχει η άποψη ότι όλοι οι επίσκοποι στο Φαράς ήταν Μονοφυσίτες[34], και αφ'ετέρου δεν μπορεί να εξακριβωθεί κατά πόσο μια τέτοια εκκλησιαστική αλλαγή έλαβε χώρα σε όλη τη Νουβία[35].

Επιπλέον, παρά το γεγονός ότι στη φατιμιδική Αίγυπτο είχε σταματήσει πλέον η χρήση της ελληνικής γλώσσας[36], στη Νουβία παρατηρείται αύξηση του αριθμού των ελληνικών επιγραφικών ευρημάτων, και δη εκείνων που περιέχουν την Προσευχή για τους Νεκρούς. Οι σχετικές επιτύμβιες στήλες χρονολογούνται στο διάστημα από τον Η' ως τον ΙΓ' αιώνα[37]. Από τις 37 χρονολογημένες επιγραφές, όμως, οι 25 προέρχονται από τους ΙΑ' και ΙΒ' αιώνες[38]. Ίσως, λοιπόν, αυτό να υποδηλώνει μια επανασύνδεση της Νουβίας με το Βυζάντιο ή τη Συροπαλαιστίνη, τις πιθανότερες κοιτίδες αυτού του κειμένου. Ελλείψει, όμως, αντίστοιχων ευρημάτων από αυτές τις περιοχές, δεν αποκλείεται να ενισχύθηκε, κατά τους ΙΑ' και ΙΒ' αιώνες, μια τοπική παράδοση, η οποία είχε ως μέσο έκφρασης την ελληνική γλώσσα και ως σκοπό την προβολή του ιδιαίτερου χαρακτήρα του νουβικού Χριστιανισμού.

32. Jadwiga Kubinska, Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes (FARAS IV), Βαρσοβία 1974, σσ. 56 (Πέτρος) και 36-38 (Ιωάννης Γ')

33. Vantini, G., *Christianity in the Sudan*, 1981, σ. 145-147

34. Martin Krause, "Zur Kirchengeschichte Nubiens", *Nubian Culture, Past and Present* (Main Papers Presented at the Sixth Conference for Nubian Studies in Uppsala, 11-16 August, 1986, ed. by Tomas Hägg), Sweden 1987, σ. 300

35. Αντίθετα η συντριπτική πλειονότητα των ευρημάτων προέρχεται από τη Νοβατία, και δη το Φαράς.

36. Η ελληνική γλώσσα παρέμεινε η επίσημη γλώσσα και του ισλαμικού αιγυπτιακού κράτους ως τον Η' αιώνα [πρβλ. Christides V., "Miṣr", *E.I.*^{2}, 7, Leiden 1991, σσ. 156-160 (αγγλική έκδοση)]

37. Σε αυτά τα όρια πρέπει να τοποθετηθούν και τα ευρήματα από το el-Usheir και το Gohabi, εφ'όσον δεν διατηρούν τμήματα του κειμένου (κυρίως το τέλος) που πιθανώς περιείχαν ακριβέστερες πληροφορίες. Ενδεχομένως το σχήμα τους συνηγορεί προς μια χρονολόγηση μετά τον ΙΑ' αιώνα, όπως προκύπτει από τα ως τώρα γνωστά χρονολογημένα παράλληλα με παρόμοιο σχήμα (αρ. 16, 33, 34 και 37 στον Πίνακα 1).

7. Η Προσευχή για τους Νεκρούς ως χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα του νουβικού Χριστιανισμού.

Η Προσευχή για τους Νεκρούς αποτελεί ένα σχεδόν τυποποιημένο κείμενο που συναντάται σε πληθώρα επιγραφών επιτύμβιων στηλών, αλλά αποκλειστικά στη χριστιανική Νουβία_ πιθανώς εισήχθη από την Παλαιστίνη - όπως δείχνει το εύρημα από τη Νεσσάνα - όταν είχε ήδη διαμορφωθεί το περιεχόμενό της Προσευχής[39]. Η χρονολόγηση του παπύρου (τέλος Στ' - αρχές Ζ αιώνα) υποδεικνύει ότι ίσως κατά την παραμονή του στη Συροπαλαιστίνη, ο Λογγίνος εφοδιάστηκε με ένα σχετικό χειρόγραφο, το οποίο και θα παραχώρησε για αντιγραφή σε κάποιο μοναστήρι στη Νοβατία ή την Αλοδία. Η παρουσία των γραμμών πάνω στις οποίες γράφτηκε το κείμενο της επιγραφής από το el-Usheir υποδηλώνει ότι ίσως από ένα τέτοιο χειρόγραφο να πραγματοποιήθηκε η αντιγραφή του κειμένου της προσευχής. Στη συνέχεια, το κείμενο αυτό χρησιμοποιήθηκε στις επιτύμβιες στήλες από μεγάλο αριθμό Χριστιανών σε όλα τα βασίλεια της Νουβίας και προφανώς ενσωματώθηκε στην παράδοση που χαρακτήρισε το νουβικό Χριστιανισμό.

Μία άλλη σημαντική παράμετρος του υπό εξέταση θέματος συνίσταται στο υλικό που χρησιμοποιούσαν οι Νούβιοι για την κατασκευή των επιτύμβιων στηλών με την Προσευχή για τους Νεκρούς. Παρατηρήθηκε, λοιπόν, ότι όλες οι χρονολογημένες επιγραφές είναι λίθινες (από αμμόλιθο ή μάρμαρο). Από τα υπόλοιπα (αχρονολόγητα) ευρήματα, μέχρι σήμερα είναι γνωστές μόνο δεκατρείς πήλινες επιτύμβιες στήλες και όλες έχουν βρεθεί στο βασίλειο της Μακουρίας (και στα σύνορά της με την Αλοδία)[40]. Λόγω της συγκέντρωσης των ευρημάτων σε αυτήν την περιοχή, γεννάται το ερώτημα κατά πόσο αυτό το φαινόμενο αποτελεί τοπική παράδοση. Εφ'όσον, μάλιστα, ο πηλός θεωρείται ευτελέστερο υλικό από τον λίθο, τίθεται το ζήτημα της κοινωνικής θέσης των νεκρών που επιλέγουν να μνημονευθούν με αυτήν την προσευχή[41], αλλά και του βαθμού που τα κατώτερα στρώματα στη Νου-

38. πρβλ. Πίνακα 1

39. πρβλ. Jadwiga Kubinska, "La prière nubienne pour les morts et la question de son origine", *Nubia. Récentes Recherches,* 1975, σσ. 83-84

40. βλ. Πίνακα 2

41. Να σημειωθεί ότι πλην ενός διακόνου από το Ghazali, κανείς αναφερόμενος στις πήλινες επιτύμβιες στήλες δεν κατείχε κάποιον εκκλησιαστικό ή κρατικό τίτλο (πρβλ. P.L. Shinnie, H.N. Chittick, "Ghazali, A Monastery in the Northern Sudan", *SASOP 5 (1961)*, σσ. 69-94, και δη σ. 93, αρ. 77).

βία κατείχαν την ελληνική γλώσσα.

Το κείμενο της Προσευχής για τους Νεκρούς, πάντως, είναι σε κάθε περίπτωση συντεταγμένο στα Ελληνικά. Θα ήταν επισφαλές να συναχθεί το συμπέρασμα ότι ο γηγενής πληθυσμός καταλάβαινε, ή μιλούσε, την ελληνική γλώσσα. Οι έρευνες πάνω στα σχετικά ευρήματα συνηγορούν υπέρ της περίπτωσης να γράφονταν κάποιες ελληνικές λέξεις σύμφωνα με τον τρόπο που αυτές χρησιμοποιούνταν-προφέρονταν από τους Νούβιους[42]. Δεν αποκλείεται, λοιπόν, οι επιγραφές να ετοιμάζονταν από ειδικευμένους αντιγραφείς χειρογράφων, ή και άτομα που όντως μιλούσαν την ελληνική γλώσσα ως τμήμα της ανώτερής τους (εκκλησιαστικής;) εκπαίδευσης.

Επειδή, μάλιστα, συμβαίνει να παρεμβάλλονται στο κείμενο της Προσευχής λέξεις ή φράσεις στα Νουβικά[43], προφανώς κάποιοι τουλάχιστον από αυτούς τους γραφείς ήταν ντόπιοι[44]. Η εξέταση της μετάφρασης, πάντως, των χριστιανικών λειτουργικών κειμένων στη νουβική διάλεκτο οδήγησε τους ερευνητές σε συμπεράσματα για τον τρόπο με τον οποίο "τα Ελληνικά μεταμορφώθηκαν σε Νουβικά"[45].

Προκειμένου να συμπληρωθεί η εικόνα για το ρόλο της ελληνικής γλώσσας στα χριστιανικά βασίλεια της Νουβίας, θα πρέπει να ολοκληρωθεί η δημοσίευση των σχετικών ευρημάτων και να παρουσιαστούν αυτά κατόπιν κριτικής ανάλυσης όλων των συναφών (ιστορικών και αρχαιολογικών) στοιχείων. Ιδιαίτερα χρήσιμη θα ήταν μια προσωπογραφική παρουσίαση των επιτύμβιων στηλών που έχουν βρεθεί και στα τρία βασίλεια, καθώς και η αποτύπωσή τους σε ένα χάρτη, όπου θα εμφαίνεται η διάδοση κάθε γλωσσικού ιδιώματος. Θα ήταν τότε δυνατόν να γίνει πλήρως κατανοητή η θέση της Προσευχής για τους Νεκρούς μέσα στο ιδιαίτερο αυτό φαινόμενο που αποτέλεσε η νουβική Χριστιανοσύνη.

42. πρβλ. Oates, J.F., "A Christian Inscription in Greek from Armenna in Nubia", *JEA 49 (1963)*, σσ. 164 και 170-171. Κάποια παραδείγματα που συναντώνται και στην επιγραφή από το el-Usheir παρουσιάζονται στην β' στήλη του Πίνακα 2.

43. Χαρακτηριστικά παραδείγματα αποτελούν οι επιτύμβιες στήλες υπ'αριθ. 4, 15, 28, 31, 32 και 37 από τον Πίνακα 1 και η επιγραφή υπ'αριθ. 79 από το Ghazali (βλ. σημ. 38). Σπανιότερα συναντώνται κοπτικές φράσεις στις επιγραφές με την Προσευχή για τους Νεκρούς [πρβλ. Hägg T., "Two Christian Epitaphs in Greek of the 'Euchologion Mega' Type", *Late Nubian Cemetaries (ed. T. Säve-Söderbergh in Collaboration with G. Englund and H. Nordström; SJE 6)*, Solna 1981, σ. 59 (σχόλια στις γραμμές 27/28)]

44. πρβλ. Hägg T., *ό.π. σημ. 19*, σ. 103 και Christides V., *ό.π. σημ. 21*, σ. 351

45. πρβλ. Gerald M. Browne, "Greek into Nubian", *Nubian Culture, Past and Present* (Main Papers Presented at the Sixth Conference for Nubian Studies in Uppsala, 11-16 August, 1986, ed. By Tomas Hägg), Sweden 1987, σσ. 309-324

8. Επίλογος

Η τελευταία χρονολογημένη επιτύμβια στήλη με την Προσευχή για τους Νεκρούς προέρχεται από την περιοχή γύρω από το Qasr Ibrim, όπου έχει βρεθεί πληθώρα χειρογράφων, των οποίων η δημοσίευση δεν έχει ακόμα ολοκληρωθεί. Η επιγραφή αυτή τοποθετείται στο 1243 μ.Χ.[46] και συνομολογεί προς όσα παραδίδονται σχετικά με το τέλος του Χριστιανισμού στη Μέση Κοιλάδα του Νείλου: στο τέλος του ΙΓ' αιώνα ο Νούβιος βασιλιάς Δαυίδ άρχισε μια σειρά συγκρούσεων που σε πενήντα χρόνια οδήγησαν στην καταστροφή, αφού τον ΙΔ' αιώνα ο τελευταίος Χριστιανός βασιλιάς είχε ήδη ασπαστεί το Ισλάμ πριν πεθάνει[47]. Ωστόσο μέχρι τον ΙΣΤ' αιώνα επιβίωναν ορισμένοι χριστιανικοί πυρήνες, με σπουδαιότερο το βασίλειο της Αλοδίας στο Νότο. Ο Χριστιανισμός θα επανεμφανιστεί στο προσκήνιο στη Μέση Κοιλάδα του Νείλου τον ΙΘ' αιώνα και μαζί του και η Προσευχή για τους Νεκρούς, αυτή τη φορά στη βυζαντινή εκδοχή της, για την κάλυψη των σχετικών λειτουργικών αναγκών των ελληνορθόδοξων παροίκων του Σουδάν.

46. L. Robert, *Collection Froehner. Inscriptions grecques*, Παρίσι 1936, σσ. 125-126, No 81, Πίν. XLI

47. πρβλ. G. Vantini, *ό.π.*, σσ. 171-183

Α/Α	ΠΡΟΕΛΕΥΣΗ	ΗΜΕΡΟΜΗΝΙΑ	ΣΧΟΛΙΑ	ΒΙΒΛΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ
1	Dendur	754 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του ΜΑΡΚΟΥ	Aylward M. Blackman, *The Temple of Dendur*, Κάιρο 1911, σ. 60, Πίν.. 93
2	Faras	765 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Επισκόπου Ματθαίου	Kubinska, Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes (FARAS IV), Βαρσοβία 1974, σσ. 24-6, εικ.4
3	Άγνωστη	775 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του ΜΑΡΚΟΥ	Lefebvre, *Receuil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Égypte*, Κάιρο 1907, No. 645
4	Dongola	785 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Κελ	Jakobielski, S. & Ostrasz, A., "Polish Excavations at Old Dongola. Second Season, December 1965 - February 1966" *Kush XV*, σσ. 125-142
5	Dongola	797 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Στεφάνου	*Ibid.*
6	Faras	802 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Επισκόπου Ιγνατίου	Kubinska, *ό.π.*, σσ. 26-31, εικ.5
7	Nawi	Μέσα Θ΄ αιώνα	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του ΜΑΚΑΡΙΤΗΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ	J.W.Crowfoot, "Five Greek Inscriptions from Nubia", *JEA XIII (1927)*, σσ.226-8, Πιν.. LVI.2
8	Dongola	883 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Ιωάννη Προτομειζότερου και Επάρχου	Jakobielski, S. & Krzyzaniak, L., "Polish Excavations at Old Dongola. Third Season, December 1966 - February 1967" *Kush XV*, σσ. 143-164
9	Άγνωστη	913 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΥΙΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ΕΙΑΝΗΝ	Lefebvre, ό.π., No. 647
10	Faras	923 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Επισκόπου Κόλλουθου	Kubinska, *ό.π.*, σσ. 32-4, εικ. 6
11	Faras	926 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Επισκόπου Στεφάνου	Kubinska, *ό.π.*, σσ. 34-6, εικ.7
12	Faras	1006 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Επισκόπου Ιωάννη Γ΄	Kubinska, *ό.π.*, σς. 36-8, εικ. 8
13	Άγνωστη	1007 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Επάρχου Ιωάννη	Bond, Thompson, Warner, *Paleographical Society*, parts VI-X, Πίν. 102; Lefebvre, *ό.π.*, No. 665; Kubinska, *ό.π.*, σσ. 49-50
14	Soba	1015 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη Βασιλέως Δαυίδ	Thomas Hägg, "Greek in Upper Nubia: An Assessment of the New Material", *Actes de la VIIIe Conférence Internationale des Études Nubiennes, Lille 11-17 Septembre 1994*, dans *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille (No 17/3)*, 1998, σ.114
15	Armenna	1032 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη για ΤΗΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ COY ΜΑΡΙΗΩ	John F. Oates, "A Christian Inscription in Greek from Armenna in Nubia", *JEA 49 (1963)*, σσ.161-171, Πίν. XXVII
16-21	Qasr Ibrim	1036 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Επίσκοπου Μαριάνου	Kubinska, ό.π., σσ. 38-40, εικ. 9
		1037-1132 μ.Χ.	5 Στήλες με διάφορα τμήματα από την Προσευχή του "Μεγάλου Ευχολογίου"	W.H.C.Frend, "Coptic, Greek and Nubian at Qas Ibrim", *Byzantinoslavica 33 (1972)*, σ. 228
22	Komangana	1069/70 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του CΤΑΥΡΟΦΟΡΟΥ	Kush XII (1964), σσ. 37-9, εικ. 9b
23	Mainarti	1080/4 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του `Mashshouda Eisminna	W. Crowfoot, ό.π., σσ. 230-1, Πίν. LVII
24	Ad-Donga	1093 μ.Χ.	26 γραμμές από την Προσευχή του "Μεγάλου Ευχολογίου"	Almagro, M. (κ.ά.), "Excavations by the Spanisl Archaeological Mission in the Sudan, 1962-63 and 1963-64", *Kush XIII*, σσ. 78-95
25	Ashkeit	ΙΒ΄ αιώνας (;)	Επιτύμβια Στήλη της Ekisir (?)	J.W.B.Barns, "Christian Monuments from Nubia", *KUSH II (1954)*, σ. 27, εικ. 2

26	Faras	1131 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Επισκόπου Παρθενίου	F.Ll.Griffith, *LAAA, vol.XIII*, 1926, Πίν. 63, σσ. 84-5; Kubinska, ό.π., σσ. 45-6
27	Αποκτήθηκε στο Aswan	1157 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ	Lefebvre, BCH 1902, σ.564, Πίν. XII
28	Αποκτήθηκε στο Luxor (?)	1157 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Nissina υιού Milana	H. Kortenbeutel, "Ein griechischer Grabstein aus Nubien", *Zeitschrift für neutest. Wissenschaft 37 (1938)*, σσ. 61 κ.εξ.
29	Wadi Natrun	1158 μ.Χ.	Δίσκος Προσφορών του Βασιλέως Γεωργίου	Griffith, F.Ll., "Christian Documents from Nubia", *Proceedings of the British Academy 14 (1928)*, σσ. 117-146 (πρβλ. εικ. σ. 124)
30	Komangana	1158/9 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Επισκόπου Μαρτυροφόρου	Kush XII (1964), σσ. 37-9, εικ. 9a
31	Mainarti	1162 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Tjoasse, υιού του Sentiko	J.W.B.Barns, *ό.π.*, σ. 26, εικ. 1
32	El-Kuru	1163 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Tjoasse, υιού του Sh…	J.W.B.Barns, *ό.π.*, σ. 28, εικ. 3
33	Faras	1169 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Επισκόπου Ιωάννη Β΄	Kubinska, *ό.π.*, σσ. 40-2, εικ. 10
34	Άγνωστη	1172/3 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Ιησού, υιού της Μαριάμ	Kubinska, *ό.π.*., σσ.51-2, εικ. 14
35	Αποκτήθηκε στο Luxor (?)	1181 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη της πρεσβυταιρας Παπασας	S. de Ricci, "Lettres d'Égypte", *CRAIBL (1909)*, σσ. 103 κ.εξ., facsimile σ. 155; Kubinska, *ό.π.*, σσ.53-4
36	Faras	1193 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη του Επισκόπου Ταμέρ	Kubinska, *ό.π.*., σσ.42-5, εικ. 11
37	Ανάμεσα στο Faras και το Qasr Ibrim	1243 μ.Χ.	Επιτύμβια Στήλη για την δ(ουλην) παπα Σινεθη (;) Τοσσινε	L. Robert, *Collection Froehner. Inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1936, σσ. 125-126, No 81, Πίν. XLI

ΠΙΝΑΚΑΣ 2

Α/Α	ΠΡΟΕΛΕΥΣΗ*	ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΕΣ ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ	ΒΙΒΛΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ
1	El-Arak	l. 8: φωτινῷ	SEG, VIII, 875
2-3	Wadi Dom & Tor	9503 O: ετεναγμοιc	J.W.B.Barns, "Christian Monuments from Nubia", *KUSH II (1954)*, σ. 32
4-11	Wadi Ghazali	No 61: φωτινο (l. 6-7), διάνιαν (l. 10)	P.L. Shinnie, H.N. Chittick, "Ghazali, A Monastery in the Northern Sudan", *SASOP 5 (1961)*, σσ. 69-94

* Όλες οι στήλες βρέθηκαν στην Μακουρία και στα σύνορα αυτής με την Αλοδία

George A. Tsoutsos

SMYRNA IN THE CROSSING ROADS BETWEEN EUROPE AND ASIA MINOR: A BRIEF SURVEY.

In the 14th century the Ottomans became more powerful in the western part of Asia Minor. It is in that period that Smyrna (Izmir) became an Ottoman city and was connected to Bursa which was the political and commercial center of the Ottoman Empire.

Concerning the Ottoman commerce with Europe one must say that in 1581 the Levant Company was created. It is at that time that England becomes close to the Ottomans while being in bad terms with the Spanish. English traders became great competitors with their French and Venetian colleagues and paid less taxes to the Ottoman state. It is at that time (in or around 1611), that the consulate was moved to Izmir and John Markham was appointed first consul there.[1]

In the period between 1570 and 1650 Izmir developed from a port of purely local importance into a major center visited by European traders active in the Ottoman Empire. In a recent publication one finds a complete description of the economic history of Izmir. "... At that time Izmir first exported cotton, walnuts and contraband grains and only later attracted the caravans of Iranian silk that were to make it famous. The city's foreign trade attracted immigrants who left less prosperous places in order to make a living from international exchanges. Thus we find Jewish immigrants... taking up roles as translators and commercial middlemen... Tax farmers and smugglers also were dependent upon the prosperity of international exchanges. Certain persons managed to combine the roles of pirates and traders. Thus a fair number of persons

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1. A.C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (1935, repr. London: Cass, 1964 pp. 72-73.

in the Izmir region do seem to have made a living directly or indirectly from foreign trade. But in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Izmir was not yet one of the great international transit nodes, rather the city's prosperity depended upon the effective penetration of a regional economy by foreign traders in search for exportable goods"[2]. During these years 1590-1699, people in Izmir most often contracted the plague from caravans which had traversed the border region between the Ottoman Empire and Iran.

We are not able to determine to what extent commerce prompted a seventeenth century Izmir family's rise to influence, and to what extent these family's fortunes were political in origin.[3]

Izmir is not considered as an important city until 1770. After that period (1770) and till 1922 Izmir became a cosmopolitan city.[4] The city was divided into the muslim sector, the Greek sector which gradually became the most populous, the Latin (Frank-Levantine) sector, the Armenian, and the Jewish sector.[5]

But what happened before that date? Was Izmir a purely Muslim Ottoman city? In fact, Izmir became a symbol of a synthesis between Byzantine Christianity and Alevi Islam. The Turkish jurist and savant Simavnali Bedreddin was an eminent representative of that synthesis which lead to an unsuccessful rebellion against the central authority. Bedreddin, among other things, supported the idea that everything belongs to everyone, except women who were not common property. He was against any discrimination between Muslims and Christians. According to Bedreddin, music and the use of wine had to be permitted for Muslims. There was a revolt near the city of Izmir where 2.000 followers of his ideas were executed and another 4.000 were dispersed mainly in the area of Manisa as well as in other cities, where they lived for centuries.[6]

2. Suraiya Faroqhi, Bruce McGowan, Donald Quataert and Sevket Pamuk, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* vol.II (1600-1914), Cambridge University Press 1994, p. 505.

3. Sonia Anderson, *An Englishman in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667-1678* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

4. Νίκος Σβορώνος, *Επισκόπηση της νεοελληνικής Ιστορίας*, Athens, Themelio, 1994 pp. 51-52.

5. Χρ. Εμ. Αγγελομάτης, *Χρονικόν Μεγάλης Τραγωδίας*, Athens, Hestia, pp..7-9.

6. Δημ. Κιτσίκης, *Ιστορία της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας 1280-1924*, 3rd ed., Athens, Hestia, 1996, pp. 52, 173-174.

Sabatai Sevi (1626-1676) presented himself as a Messiah. Many people believed in his preaching that the end of the world would be coming soon. He was arrested by the ottoman authority and faced the following dilemma: convert to Islam or be executed? In the end Sabatai became a Muslim, as did many of his followers. They lived in Constantinople until recently and preserved their very own particular identity. Others continued to believe in his ideas and recounted stories from what they had seen and heard about Sabatai Sevi who, after his conversion to Islam, took the name Aziz Mehmet Efendi.[7]

One could argue that Izmir was not the center of such a synthesis between Christianity and Islam and that the whole of Asia Minor was a link between East and West. However, Izmir is a city which links the eastern and western part of the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empires. Constantinople expresses the idea of power, while Smyrna expresses the idea of a synthesis between western and eastern elements of the Ottoman empire.

Izmir's prosperity depended upon the ability to export Anatolian goods to the West and vice versa. Izmir and its hinterland is the only area in Asia Minor which had commercial relations with Europe at the time.[8] As a result of this, only a powerful state which would have control over the European and Asiatic borders of the Aegean Sea could create the right environment for the prosperity of the city of Izmir. It was the Treaty of Küçük-Kaynarci in 1774 that gave the opportunity to the western element of the Ottoman empire, the Greeks, to develop their commercial fleet.[9] Today NATO promotes the idea that despite the differences between Greece and Turkey, the European and Asiatic borders of the Aegean Sea, comprise a unified NATO area.

The strait between Chios and the Anatolian coast had an extraordinary shipping and naval importance since the dawn of history. The climax was reached in two confrontations between Turkey and its principal naval opponents at the time, Venice and Russia, the former in 1694-95, the latter in 1770. The most famous naval battle between the Ottoman and Venetian fleets in 1695 took place in the vicinity of the

7. S. Faroghi, *Κουλτούρα και καθημερινή ζωή στην Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία*, Athens, Exantas, 2000, p. 108.

8. Νεοκλής Σαρρής, *Προεπαναστατική Ελλάδα και Οσμανικό Κράτος*, Athens, Herodotos, 1993, p. 84.

9. Β. Θεοδωρόπουλος, *Ανασκόπηση, Η Εξωτερική Πολιτική της νεότερης Ελλάδας*, ELIAMEP, Athens, Sideris, 1996 p. 36.

island of Oinousses and is remembered in association with this small island. In 1770, the Russian fleet also approached the retreating Ottoman warships from the north by skirting the Oinousses, but the battle took place slightly further south, near the Turkish naval base of Ç esme situated on the Turkish coast opposite the port city of Chios.[10] In a Memorandum presented by the Greek members of the Turkish Parliament to the American Commission on Mandates over Turkey, in 1919, it is stated amongst other important issues that "[a] single visit to Smyrna, a city of decidedly Greek character, where the Greek language is commonly used, would prove clearly how strong are the claims of the Greeks to this country". Moreover, all the Turkish statesmen, from Mahmud Şevket Paşa down to Ferid Paşa have very convincingly expressed the following opinion, which is incontestably true, i.e., that the islands and the coast opposite them can by no means be separated, because this separation would be ruinous for both, as well from the economic as well as from the military point of view.[11]

Before the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey (1922), Toynbee argues that in Smyrna Greek national feeling was naturally strong. The Greek element in the city is far the largest aggregate of Greek population in Anatolia, and has the most frequent and direct communication with Athens. Many Smyrna Greeks are Hellenic subjects, either by immigration or by naturalization. At the same time, the prosperity of the Greeks, like that of the entire business community, at Smyrna depends on maintaining and increasing the economic intercourse with the hinterland, and in this respect there could be no greater contrast than between Smyrna and Aivali. Smyrna is not a self-contained community, and you cannot stay there without being conscious every moment that the roots of its prosperity strike deep and far afield in the soil of Anatolia. You are also conscious that the Smyrniots are being torn in two between their national inclinations and their economic interests. They are in the same dilemma as the Germans of Danzig and the Italians of Fiume and Trieste - three

10. Svat Soucek, "The Strait between Chios and the Anatolian Coast", presentation at the 8th Conference of the "Institute for Graeco-oriental &African Studies", Oinousses, July 2000.

11. "Memorandum", presented by the Greek members of the Turkish Parliament to the American Commission on Mandates Over Turkey. Published by the American-Hellenic Society, New York 1919, p. 10.

Western commercial cities for which it has been particularly hard to devise a satisfactory settlement.[12]

This balance of western and oriental influences ended in 1922 with the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. Today, Izmir is not as important as it could be. For example, it is astonishing that the port of Izmir is not full of branches of western banks. On the other hand, immigrants from Anatolia do not contribute to its further development since it is the major port in the western coast of Asia Minor. It seems to me that Izmir today as in the past needs a different political and economic atmosphere between the eastern and the western part of the Aegean, to become as important as it was together with Salonica and Constantinople during the Ottoman empire.

According to Bülent Simsir, author of the historical study "The Aegean Question"(1976), the geopolitical identity of Greece as a "maritime force" is related to the idea of "maritime world domination". Former prime-minister of Turkey Mesut Yilmaz wrote an article to the Greek periodical "Epikentra" in 1995 in which he supports the idea of interdependence between Greece and Turkey in the Aegean. In 1999 a Symposium was organized by the War Academies with the subject: "The power of the Turkish Navy and its Weaknesses". The Operation Director of the Turkish Marine Forces Command Lütfü Sancar focused on the importance of the sea transports and on the means for achieving a profitable environment thanks to the passage of ships through the Aegean Sea. The speaker examined among others the "possibilities to support the maritime forces by the shipping force". The enforcement of maritime forces is combined with the role of NATO all over the oceans. This time it is not the Byzantine or the Ottoman empires, but a Western alliance which defines the relations between East and West.

12. Arnold Toynbee, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey*, Boston and New York Houghton and Mifflin Company, 1922, p. 126.

VLADIMIR VAVŘINEK

THE ADRIATIC SEA AS THE CONNECTING ROUTE BETWEEN BYZANTIUM AND THE REGIONS NORTH OF THE DANUBE

The first Slavic state which originated in the early 9th century north of the river Danube, on the territory occupied by the present-day Czech and Slovak Republics, is generally called Great Moravia.[1] This name, however, should not be interpreted as testifying to the size or power of this state. It does not occur in any of the sources of the period and was, in

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1. There does not exist any detailed monograph that would present a complex synthesis of the present state of research on the history and culture of Great Moravia in any of the main world languages. Still valid remains the excellent monograph by F. Dvorník, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IXe siècle*, Paris 1926, esp. 147ff., though some of his views must be now corrected with respect of the recent findings. Otherwise most of the scholarly literature on this subject was published in Czech or Slovak, and partly also in other Slavonic languages. Western scholars have to seek main information in monographs dealing with history of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission cited in note 4. Very useful may be the volumes of collected studies and papers published on the occasion of various Cyrillo-Methodian anniversaries like: J. Macurek (ed.), *Magna Moravia* (Opera Universitatis Brunensis 102), Prague 1965; F. Graus - J. Filip - A. Dostál (eds.), *Das Grossmährische Reich. Tagung der wissenschaftlichen Konferenz Brno - Nitra, 1.-4. X. 1963*, Prague 1966; J. Poulík - B. Chropovský (eds.), *Grossmähren und die Anfänge der tschechoslowakischen Staatlichkeit*, Prague 1986. A general survey of the present state of knowledge of Great Moravia written for a broader public was provided by J. Sláma - V. Vavřinek, *Slavic Settlement in the Czech Lands and Great Moravia* (Illustrated Czech History 1), Prague 1996. All written sources on the history of Great Moravia were collected and published in L. E. Havlík (ed.), *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici*, 1-5, Prague - Brno 1966, 1967, 1969, 1971, 1976, according to which they will be cited (as MMFH); an exhaustive bibliography can be found at the end of each volume.

fact, created only half a century after its collapse by the learned Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus.[2] He used the adjective «Great» (*Megale*) to stress, quite in the tradition of classical Greek geography, that he had in mind a region situated outside the borders of the Byzantine Empire.[3] It is true that in the 870s and 880s the Moravian ruler Svatopluk built a huge empire occupying also Pannonia (i.e. modern western Hungary), southern Poland and Bohemia; apart from that, he also brought under his sovereignty a part of present-day Lusatia (in Germany). Nonetheless, this empire was very short-lived; after Svatopluk's death it disintegrated and by the beginning of the 10th century the Moravian state collapsed totally under the onslaught of destructive Magyar raids. Were only its political history to be taken into account, Great Moravia would have remained no more than a tiny historical episode that took place on the eastern border of the Frankish Empire. What turned it into such a distinct historical phenomenon was the activity of the Byzantine ecclesiastical mission led by two brothers from Thessalonica, Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, and especially their cultural deed—the creation of Slavonic alphabet and literature and the introduction of Slavonic language into the liturgical practice.[4]

This might seem surprising if we take into consideration that Byzantium and Moravia were not neighbours; the distance between them was huge and moreover the two countries were divided from each other by Bulgaria, rather hostile to both of them at most of the time. Also, there is no evidence that there would have been any direct contacts between the Byzantine Empire and Moravia in the first half of the 9th century.[5] It is not the task of this paper to explain the reasons that made the Moravian Prince Rastislav invite a Byzantine mission to his country, which already was the subject of many scholarly discussions;[6] my aim is to deal

2. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 1), ed. and trans. Gy. Moravcsik - R. J. H. Jenkins, Washington, D.C. 1967, cap. 13.5; 38.58; 40.33.

3. R. Dostálová, «Μεγάλη Μοραβία», *Byzantinoslavica* 27 (1966) 344-349.

4. Z. R. Dittrich, *Christianity in Great-Moravia*, Groningen 1962; A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom*, Cambridge 1970; F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs. SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius*, New Brunswick 1970 (with rich bibliography).

5. V. Vavřinek - Bohumila Zástěrová, "Byzantium's Role in the Formation of Great Moravian Culture", *Byzantinoslavica* 43 (1982) 161-188, esp. 162ff.

6 I have discussed this question thoroughly in my study "Die Christianisierung und Kirchenorganisation Grossmährens", *Historica* 7 (1963) 5-56; cf. also V. Vavřinek, "Die historische Bedeutung der byzantinischen Mission in Grossmähren", in Poulík - Chropovský, *op. cit.*. (*supra*, n. 1), 245-279, esp. 248ff.

with one specific question, namely which route the Byzantine missionaries might have chosen for their journey to Moravia.

According to the traditional opinion, shared until now by most scholars, they had chosen the ancient Roman military road leading from Constantinople to Adrianopolis (Edirne), Philippopolis (Plovdiv), Serdica (Sofia), Naissus (Nis) and Singidunum (Belgrade) and further on upstream the Danube to the North.[7] That would mean that they would have had to travel approximately 1600-1700 km on roads that had not been maintained since the Roman period and certainly suffered much damage during numerous barbarian invasions. We must also suppose that Cyril and Methodius and their disciples were accompanied by a number of servants and most probably also by an armed retinue of sorts (they were official envoys of the Emperor) and that they had to carry necessary provisions, vestments, books etc. Under such conditions they could hardly have made more than 25 km a day and they certainly must have made several stops on the way. The whole journey would have certainly lasted at least two months.

Taking the inland route, the Byzantine mission would have had to cross the vast territory of the Bulgarian Empire. It is true that, at the time of the dispatch of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission from Constantinople, the peace treaty between Byzantium and Bulgaria was still valid and kept, but the relations between the two powers were rather tense.[8] In what concerns the relations between Bulgaria and Moravia, these were even worse. The Prince of Moravia, Rastislav, was at war with the East Frankish king most of the time and right in the early 860s Louis the German was preparing a largely conceived military campaign against him.[9] The Bulgarian Kagan Boris maintained friendly relations with the German ruler and was well informed of his intended action against Moravians in advance, as we learn from a papal letter dated in mid-864.[10] The

7. J. Cibulka, "Der Zeitpunkt der Ankunft der Brüder Konstantin-Cyrillus und Methodius in Mähren", *Byzantinoslavica* 26 (1965) 318-364.

8. D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth. Eastern Europe 500-1453*, London 1971, 83ff.; R. Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*, London 1975, 54ff.

9. *Annales Fuldenses ad annum 864*, ed. MMFH I, 98; *Annales Bertiniani ad annos 863, 864, 865*, ed. MMHF I, 75.

10. See the letter of Pope Nicholas I to the East Frankish king Louis the German dated 864, ed. MMFH III, 146.

idea that under these circumstances an official Byzantine mission would have deliberately chosen travelling across the Bulgarian Empire, hostile at that time to both Byzantium and Moravia, does not seem very probable.

It seems much more likely that Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, along with their companions and retinue, decided to take the maritime route usual for travelling between Byzantium and Italy.[11] In such a case, one travelled from Constantinople on foot along the old Roman Via Egnatia to Thessalonica and further on to Dyrrhachium, from where the travellers continued by boat to Venice or some other Italian port. It was objected that on sea one faced various dangers and in this connection the well known case of the papal legates was pointed out: on their return from the Constantinopolitan council in 869-870, they took a ship from Dyrrhachium to Ancona and were assaulted and robbed on the sea by Narentan pirates.[12] This was, however, an individual case and, though it certainly was not unique, one cannot use it as sufficient proof in any argument. Travellers were threatened by dangers and menaces of various kinds both on sea and on land at that time and what counted most was how well they were protected by their retinues. We know of many other cases when envoys of secular as well as ecclesiastical authorities used ships for their missions and the aforementioned case is a mere example that such journeys were quite usual.

There is another reason to believe that Constantine-Cyril along with his companions also travelled to Moravia via Venice. From the Old Slavonic *Life of Constantine* we learn that on his return trip he made a stop in Venice, where he had a heated polemic with the opponents of Slavonic letters and liturgy.[13] We know that Constantine and his brother were invited by Pope Nicolas I to come to Rome and defend their activities in Moravia and their cultural deed there. Had Rome been their intended destination since the very beginning of their return trip, then a sojourn to Venice would have only been a natural stop on their way. It is,

11. Dvornik, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4), Appendix III: By Which Route Did the Byzantine Embassy Reach Moravia?, 307ff.

12. See the letter of Pope Hadrian II to the Byzantine Emperor Basileios I, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae* 6, 759; cf. *Chronicon Salernitanum*, ed. *MGH Scriptores* 3, 525.

13. *Life of Constantine* ch. 16, ed. MMFH II, 105ff.; English translation in M. Kantor, *Medieval Slavic Lives of Saints and Princes* (Michigan Slavic Translations 5), Ann Arbor 1983, 71ff.

however, also possible that their original intention was to go back to Constantinople and that the invitation of Nicholas I reached them only during their sojourn to Venice, where they also learnt of the coup d'état in Constantinople in which the two persons who had sent them to Moravia—Emperor Michael III and Patriarch Photius—were overthrown, the one killed and the other sent to exile.[14] This may have been the real or actual reason for their decision not to continue to Constantinople, but to accept the Pope's invitation and go to Rome. If this was the case, then their stop in Venice would have only been another indication of that they preferred not the inland way, but travelling on the sea and chose the maritime route along the Adriatic coast both for their trip to Moravia and back.

There was an ancient road connecting the Mediterranean with the Baltic area. It was known and used already in prehistoric times and in the Roman period it became one of the major commercial arteries connecting the Empire with the Baltic Sea from where the precious amber was imported; hence also its traditional name—the Amber Road.[15] The barbarian intrusions and later the Avar occupation of Pannonia severed traffic on this road for three centuries, but since the beginning of the 9th century, when the army of Charlemagne defeated the Avars and conquered Pannonia opening so the way to the Italian and Dalmatian shores, it gained importance once again.[16]

In the Roman period, the Amber Road started in Aquileia, from where it continued via Emona (Ljubljana), Poetovium (Ptuj), Sabaria (Szombathely) and Scrabantia (Sopron) to Carnuntum, where it crossed the Danube and through the so-called Bratislava gate—a narrow strip of plain land between this river and the foothills of the Low Carpathians—reached Moravia; from the northern border of this country it led further on through Poland to the shores of the Baltic Sea. In the early Middle Ages, the port of Aquileia became clogged with sand and the city lost its former economic importance. The predominant position in the region

14. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J. Hussey, Oxford 1968, 232 ff.

15. Cf., e.g., the symposium volume J. Bouzek - C. W. Beck (eds.), *Amber in Archaeology*, Prague 1993, with the contributions on the Amber Road by Z. Bukowski, pp. 117 ff.; J. Bouzek, 141ff.; E. Sprinz, 179ff.

16. M. Šolle, "Die Bedeutung des dalmatinischen altkroatischen Gebiets in der Frage nach dem Ursprung der grossmährischen Kultur", in Graus - Filip - Dostal, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n.1), 105ff.

was acquired by Venice, by then the main outpost of Byzantium in Northern Italy.

This road became the major connecting link between Moravia and the advanced world of the Western Mediterranean, from where influences of various kinds were spreading to the Slavic regions situated north of the Danube since the very beginning of the 9th century. We can follow it also in the ecclesiastical sphere. The first stage of the christianisation of Moravia was the merit of Bavarian missionaries working after the defeat of Avars in Pannonia; step by step they extended the sphere of their activities also to the realms of Princes Mojmir in Moravia and Pribina in Nitra (in present-day SW Slovakia). Nonetheless, there is indirect, but very strong evidence that along with them collaborated also priests from Northern Italy and Dalmatia, under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Aquileia.[17] Traces of their activities can be found in Moravian ecclesiastical architecture. Thus one of the earliest churches ever constructed in Moravia (most probably already in the first or second decade of the 9th century) was the church with the ground plan of a free (Greek) cross with inner supports for a tower like superstructure over the nave, the foundations of which were unearthed in the site Sady close to the modern town of Uherské Hardiste.[18] It seems that the architectural prototype of this building was the mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna or some churches constructed according to this model, e.g. the church of St. Catherine (the so-called Byzantine baptistery) in Pulja (Istria).[19] It also seems that the architectural prototype of round churches (rotundas) which were found in several Great Moravian sites (Mikulčice, Staré Město, Ducové) is to be sought in the Dalmatian area.[20] Southern missionaries brought to Moravia not only types of architecture characteristic of their regions, but also liturgical books. The oldest preserved Glagolitic manuscript (i.e. written in the alphabet created for the Slavonic tongue by Constantine-Cyril the Philosopher) is the so-called *Kiev Leaflets*.[21] The closest parallel to it is the Padua Codex D 47 and it is therefore more than probable that it was brought by missionaries from the Aquileian Patriarchate to Moravia, where it was later used by the Cyrillo-Methodian mission as a basis for compiling a sacramentary book contained in the *Kiev Leaflets*.[22]

The Amber Road was also a route of diplomatic traffic. In the monastery of Cividale, which was the seat of the Patriarchs of Aquileia at that time, an ancient manuscript of the Gospels was kept, in which the names of the monastery's visitors were inscribed.[23] Among them the name of Moravia's ruler Svatopluk and his wife and retinue, as well as

17. V. Vavřinek, "Předcyrilometodějské misie na Velké Moravě" (Ecclesiastical Missions in Moravia in the Time Preceding Cyril and Methodius), *Slavia* 32 (1963) 465-480; F. Zagiba, "Die Missionierung der Slaven aus 'Welschland' (Patriarchat Aquileja) im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert", in M. Hellmann *et al.* (eds.), *Cyrillo-Methodiana. Zur Frühgeschichte des Christentums bei den Slaven*, Cologne - Graz 1964, 274-311.

18. V. Hruby, *Staré Město—Velkomoravský Velehrad* (Staré Město—the "Veligrad" of Great Moravia),Prague 1965, 202ff.; idem, *Uherské Hradiště - Sady. Středisko velkomoravské kultury a moci* (Uherské Hradiště - Sady. A Centre of Great Moravian Culture and Power), Brno 1975. A detailed complex report and analysis of this site was recently published by L. Galuška, *Uherské Hradiště - Sady. Křest'anské centrum Velké Moravy* (Uherské Hradiště - Sady. Christian Centre of the Great Moravian Empire), Brno 1996, 30ff.

19. This theory was first pronounced by J. Pošmourný, "Stavebni umění Velkomoravské říše" (The Construction Craft in the Great Moravian Empire), *Architektura ČSSR* 20 (1961) 129-135; idem, "Církevní architektura Velkomoravské říše" (Church Architecture of the Great Moravian Empire), *Umění* 12 (1964) 187-202. Cf. V. Vavrinek, "Study of the Church Architecture from the Period of the Great Moravian Empire", *Byzantinoslavica* 25 (1964) 288-301.

20. J. Poulík, *Dvě velkomoravské rotundy v Mikulčicích* (Two Great Moravian Rotundas in Mikulčice), Prague 1963; A. Merhautova-Livorova, *Einfache mitteleuropäische Rundkirchen. Ihr Ursprung, Zweck und ihre Bedeutung*, Prague 1970; Z. Klanica, "Religion und Kult. Ihr Reflex in archäologischen Quellen", in Poulí - Chropovský, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 1), 120ff.; pictures of the ground plans of these churches, *ibid.*, 73, illustr. 26. Some scholars want to find architectural models for these buildings in Carolingian architecture, e.g. J. Cibulka, "Grossmährische Kirchenbauten", in *Sancti Cyrillus und Methodius. Leben und Wirken*, Prague 1963, 49-117, esp. 93ff., but the opinion that the prototypes of Great Moravian rotundas are to be sought in Dalmatia, as originally suggested by Pošmourný and Vavřinek (see above, n. 19), generally prevails.

21. Edited by V. V. Nimčuk, *Kyivs'ki hlaholyčni lystky*, Kiev 1983.

22. A complete bibliography on this subject is included in the most recent monograph by J. Schaeken, *Die Kiever Blätter*, Amsterdam 1987. Schaeken, however, defends the South Slavonic origin of this text. Cf. the polemic with him by R. Večerka, "Anmerkungen zu den Kiever glagolitischen Blättern", *Byzantinoslavica* 49 (1988) 46-58, who convincingly argues in favour of the thesis that this text originated in Great Moravia.

23. Edited by C. L. Bethemann, "Die Evangelienhandschrift zu Cividale", *Archiv für Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 2/3 (1877) 111-128. Reprinted in MMFH III, 330-334, esp. 332, n.12.

of the Pannonian Prince Kocel and his nobles, can be found.[24] This certainly does not mean that the rulers must have visited the monastery in person, but it is reliable evidence that at least their envoys came over there and had the names of their masters put down in the sacred evangeliary. We also know of a priest John from Venice who was in Prince Svatopluk's diplomatic service and undertook on his commission several trips to Rome—obviously using the Amber Road.[25]

There is also archaeological evidence testifying to the lively contacts between Great Moravia and the North Italian and Dalmatian regions. In the late 1920s and in the 1930s, some graves dating from the 9th century were unearthed in Staré Město (Old Town), the site identified, according to an old tradition, with Veligrad, the alleged centre of the Great Moravian Empire and residence of Prince Svatopluk. In these graves a number of pieces of jewellery were found, both technically and artistically accomplished, which were branded as objects of a Byzantine-Oriental type imported into the country by Eastern merchants.[26] This seemed to provide reliable proof of trade contacts between Byzantium and Moravia, which would explain why the Moravian ruler decided to address his request for missionaries to Constantinople.[27]

These finds, however, were rather sporadic, because the excavations were carried out by an enthusiastic amateur. It was only after World War

24 J. Stanislav, "Zo študia slovanských osobnych mien v Evanjeliu cividalskom" (Studies on the Slavic Personal Names in the Gospel Book from Cividale), *Slavia* 18 (1947) 87-100; K. Piuk, "Zur Frage der Slaven in Pannonien im 9. Jahrhundert", *Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch* 1 (1950) 112-130; A. Cronia, "Revision der slavischen Eigennamen im alten Evangeliar von Cividale", *Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch* 2 (1952) 6-21.

25. *Annales Fuldenses ad annum 874*, ed. MMFH I, 109. The same person is perhaps also mentioned in the letter of Pope John VIII to the Moravian Prince Svatopluk dated 14th June 879, see MMFH III, 190. Cf. L. E. Havlik, "Johannes presbyter de Venetiis", *Casopis Matice moravské* 87 (1968).

26. L. Niederle, "Byzantské šperky v Čechách" (Byzantine Jewels in the Czech Lands), *Památky archeologické* 35 (1926-1927) 338-352; idem, *Příspěvky k vývoji byzantských šperku ze IV. - X. století* (On the development of Byzantine jewellery from the 4th to the 10th century), Prague 1930.

27. L. Niederle, "Byzantský obchod a země české v IX. a X. století" (Byzantine Trade and the Czech Lands in the 9th and 10th centuries), in *Od pravěku k dnešku. Sborník prací z dějin československých k šedesátým narozeninám Josefa Pekaře*, 1, Prague 1930, 33-37. His argumentation was taken over also by F. Dvorník, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*, Prague 1933, 212ff.

II that systematic, large-scale excavations were conducted in several localities (besides the above mentioned Staré Město - Veligrad, especially in Mikulčice, Pohansko etc.) by the Archaeological Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, the Moravian Museum, as well as the University of Brno.[28] Archaeologists discovered several fortified settlements, foundations of more than 20 church buildings constructed from stone, as well as thousands of graves, the examination of which had brought to light (along with ceramic vessels, weapons etc.) several hundred pieces of jewellery.[29] Thanks to the sophisticated methods of excavations, it was possible to distinguish two main chronological layers of these finds. While in the first half of the 9th century Great Moravian art seems to have been rather of syncretistic nature, combining various elements of Carolingian as well as Anglo-Hibernian models and retaining, at the same time, some motifs and techniques of Danubian art characteristic of the preceding period, in the second half of the 9th century jewellery of the already mentioned Veligrad type obviously prevailed.[30] The most typical items were women's ear-rings of various shapes—columnar, drum-shaped, basket-shaped etc.—made of gold, silver or gilted copper, with use of techniques like granulation or filigree. For men the use of decorated belt-ends was typical, sometimes decorated with engravings or produced with rich use of precious stones. Both women and men used, more as a decoration than for practical purposes, hollow

28. A general survey of these excavations and their results was provided by J. Poulík, "Die Zeugenschaft der archäologischen Grabungen und Quellen über Grossmähren", in J. Poulík - B. Chropovský, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 1), 9, with a rich bibliography and 24 plates with illustrations.

29. Of special importance among the many works dealing with Great Moravian jewellery are: V. Hrubý, *Staré Město. Velkomoravské pohřebiště "Na Valách"* (The Great Moravian Cemetery "Na Valách" in Staré Město), Prague 1955, esp. 308ff.; J. Eisner, "Počátky českého šperku" (Origins of Czech Jewellery), *Památky archeologické* 46 (1955) 215-226; K. Benda, *Mittelalterlicher Schmuck. Slawische Funde aus tschechoslowakischen Sammlungen und Leningrader Ermitage*, Prague 1966; B. Dostál, *Slovanská pohřebiště ze střední doby hradištní na Moravě* (Slavic Graveyards of the Middle Fortress Period in Moravia), Prague 1966; Galuška, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 18), 48ff., 90ff. The most numerous illustrations of Great Moravian jewels in colour can be found in J. Dekan, *Grossmähren. Epoche und Kultur*, Bratislava 1976; this publication appeared also in an English version: *Moravia Magna. Its Art and Times*, Bratislava 1980.

30. Dekan, *op. cit.*, esp. 16ff., 23 ff.

round buttons, whose Slavonic name *gombiki* derives from the Greek *κόμβος*.[31]

Not all of these objects, however, can be considered imports as it was generally supposed earlier. The archaeological research brought to light remains of workshops where the local jewellers produced those items; this was proved by finds of raw material, unfinished products etc.[32] Also, it is not quite certain that the models of this kind of jewellery could be necessarily found in Byzantium only. It seems more likely that its prototypes should be rather sought in the provincial craft of Late Antiquity brought to Moravia from the northern Adriatic area with which it was obviously connected with many cultural ties. Moreover, the nearest parallel to the Moravian jewellery of Veligrad type has been detected in objects found in Croatia.[33]

Nonetheless, some of the pieces of jewellery unearthed in Great Moravian graves may be indicated as imports from Byzantium, if not directly from Constantinople, especially the gold pendant with pearls and almandine found in Mikulčice, and not only that one. In various Great Moravian sites a number of various bronze and lead crosses were found, some of them with Greek inscriptions; of Byzantine origin were most probably several encolpia, most remarkable among them being that with four human masks found in Mikulčice.[34] Trade also brought to Moravia various objects from classical antiquity that were either worn by Mora-

31. Z. Klanica, "Velkomoravský gombik" (Great Moravian 'gombik'), *Archeologické rozhledy* 22 (1970) 421-446.

32. Z. Klanica, *Prace klenotníku na slovanských hradištích* (Jewellers' Work in Slavic Fortified Settlements), Prague 1976 (= Studie Archeologického ustavu v Brne II/6).

33. On the early medieval Croatian jewellery, see D. Jelovina, "Statisticki tipološko-topografsko pregled starohrvatskih naušnica na podračju SR Hrvatske" (A Statistic, Typologic and Topographic Survey of Old Croatian Earrings Found on the Territory of Croatia), *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 3rd series, 8-9 (1963) 101-120; L. Karaman, *Pregled umjetnosti u Dalmacii* (Survey of Dalmatian Art), Zagreb 1952. On the relation of Moravian finds to those made in Croatia, see Šolle, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 16), and Dvorník, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4), 95ff.

34. Crosses: Dekan, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 29), pl. 121-127; J. Poulík, *Mikulčice. Sidlo a pevnost knižt velkomoravskych* (Mikulčice. The Residence and the Fortress of the Princes of Great Moravia), Prague 1975, pl. 73, figs. 2, 3; Hrubý, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 18), pl. 47, figs. 2, 3; J. Hoaek, "Prvnířecký nápis na Moravě" (The First Greek Inscription Found in Moravia), in *Almanach Velka Moravá,* Brno 1965, 140. The pendant with almandine: Dekan, *op. cit.*, pl. 117.

vians as ornaments or used for producing new jewellery. Among the most important objects of this kind are the gems found in Modrá and in Mikulčice. The Modrá gem, with an engraved design of Eros and cock, was incorporated into a silver pendant, while both gems from Mikulcice, one with the figure of Mercury and the other with the head of Zeus and a portrait of the sculptor Pheidias, were set into belt-ends.[35] And one must mention a notable object that certainly was produced in Byzantium—an ivory pyxis dating from the 5th or 6th century with a carved relief, the motifs of which were interpreted by some scholars as an allegory of the foundation of Constantinople, although this interpretation was challenged by other art historians.[36] Of Eastern origin were also bone combs and richly decorated glass cups, the provenance of which, however, cannot be determined with certainty.

Noteworthy imported objects of Byzantine origin were rare textile fabrics, sizable quantities of which were discovered in about a dozen Great Moravian gravesites.[37] These finds included only tiny pieces of cloth preserved mostly by happy coincidence, whose chemical or at least structural analysis has nonetheless made it possible to classify them as silk and, therefore, as having been imported. It is known that Byzantine fabrics were a highly priced commodity, as well as considered a symbol of wealth and luxury in the Middle Ages. The use of silk even entailed certain ideological connotations, considering how its export was strictly regulated in Byzantium. Some pieces may have been very likely brought from Constantinople by Byzantine missionaries as a gift from the imperial court to the Moravian ruler, but in view of the density of finds of silk fabrics which were found in a dozen of gravesites with dating of over fifty years, it is more than likely that many of them reached Moravia via commercial channels.

Only three Byzantine coins are known from all the Great Moravian finds. The circumstances under which two of them—a solidus of the

35. Dekan, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 29), pl. 118, 120; Poulík, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 34), pl. 49, figs. 3, 4, pl. 48, fig. 3.

36. Published by T. Kolník - L. Veliačik, "Neskoroantická pyxida z Čierných Kl'ačian" (The Late Antique Pyxis Found in Čierné Kl'ačiany), *Slovenská archeológia* 31 (1983) 17-84; a polemic with the interpretation of these two authors: M. Pardyová, "La pyxide de Čierné Kl'ačiany. La signification de son décor figuré", *Byzantinoslavica* 49 (1988) 222-232.

37. M. Kostelníková, *Velkomoravský textil v archeologických nálezech na Moravé* (Great Moravian Textiles in the Archeological Finds in Moravia), Prague 1973.

Emperor Theophilos and a solidus issued jointly by Basileios I and his son Constantine—were found are not clear.[38] Interesting was the find of a gold solidus of Michael III issued within the years 856-866, i.e. in the time of the dispatch of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission to Moravia. It was discovered in a grave close to the great basilica in Mikulčice;[39] it had been placed in the mouth of the burried corpse, clearly to serve a similar function as Charon's obol.[40] It seems likely that originally it had been a gift to a Moravian nobleman, but quite certainly it did not serve as a means of trade exchange which, in Great Moravia, was conducted on a barter basis only.[41]

Impressive as all the finds of Byzantine origin may seem, it is surprising how scarce they are in comparison with the huge amount of items discovered by the archaeological research so far. Moreover, in spite of the fact how difficult—and in many cases even impossible—it is to determine the exact dating of individual objects, it seems that most imports from Byzantium reached Moravia only in the second half of the 9th century, which was marked by the activity of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission.[42]

There remain several questions to be asked: Who were the merchants bringing these goods to Moravia? Which route did they take to transport them? What could Moravians offer in exchange for them?

There is no indication that Byzantine merchants would have been coming as far as such a distant "barbaric" country like Moravia in the first half of the 9th century. The last evidence of a craftsman-merchant wandering in these regions is the silver hoard found in Zemianský Vrbovok, dating from the late 7th century.[43] After the Bulgarian state was established, the direct inland connection between the Byzantine Empire

38. V. Hrubý, *Velkomoravské hradisko sv. Klimenta u Osvétiman* (The Great Moravian Fortress of St. Clemens by Osvétimany), Brno 1961, 37f., 64ff.; J. Eisner, *Slovensko v praveku* (Slovakia in Prehistoric Times), Bratislava 1933, 256.

39. Poulík, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 34), 86.

40. V. Vavřinek, "Chařonuv obolos na Velké Moravě" (The Use of 'Charon's Obolos' in Great Moravia), *Numismatické listy* 25 (1970) 33-41.

41. J. Pošvář, "Die byzantinische Währung und das Grossmährische Reich", *Byzantinoslavica* 26 (1965) 308-317.

42. Vavřinek - Zástěrová, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 5), 164ff.

43. B. Svoboda, "Poklad byzantského kovotepce v Zemianskom Vrbovku" (The Hoard of a Byzantine Metalsmith Found in Zemianský Vrbovok), *Památky archeologické* 44 (1953) 33-93.

and the regions on the Upper Danube was disrupted and there is nothing to indicate that it would have been revived in the 9th century. Trying to find the route by which Byzantine goods might have been transported to Moravia, we have obviously to take into consideration the Amber Road once again, which seems to have been the main artery of commercial traffic between Moravia and the Mediterranean at that time. There is one, but very important piece of evidence corroborating this hypothesis.

After the death of Archbishop Methodius in April 885, Prince Svatopluk gave way to the insistence of Latin clergy in his country and forbade the use of Slavonic liturgy. The most prominent figures of the Slavonic clergy, obviously those of Byzantine origin, were forcibly expelled from Moravia and found asylum in Bulgaria, which had been christianized by Byzantium in the meantime. The rest of the Slavonic clergy, numbering allegedly 200 clerics, were sold to Jewish merchants into slavery. They were marched to Venice, where, however, their plight took a happy turning. They were noticed by a high Byzantine official, by chance just present there, who ransomed them and sent them to Constantinople, where they were reinstated to their former posts.

We find this story in the Old Slavonic *Life of St. Nahum*, who was one of those ransomed prisoners, and it certainly cannot be taken as a hagiographical topos only.[44] Embarassing as this fact may appear, there is much to indicate that specifically the export of slaves might have formed the main item on the list of Great Moravian sales to the Mediterranean region.[45] They were recruited mainly from prisoners of war; another, rather additional source was enslavement as a form of punishment for various crimes, as it is attested by the oldest Slavonic civil code—the so called *Zakon sudnyj ljudem*—composed in Moravia by the Cyrillo-

44. Ed. MMFH II, 177ff. An English translation of this text in the article by M. Kusseff, "St. Nahum", *Slavonic and East European Review* 29 (1950-1951) 139-152.

45 On this in detail, see O. Tuma, "Great Moravia's Trade Contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean and the Mediating Role of Venice", *Byzantinoslavica* 46 (1985) 67-77.

46. The most recent critical edition of *Zákon sudnyj ljudem* was published by J. Vaaica in MMFH IV, 178-198, who also provided a detailed commentary and a lengthy introductory study, summing up previous research on this text and giving also its thorough philological as well as historical and juristic analysis. On the questions of the authorship and time of the origin of this text, see Bohumila Zástěrová, "Über zwei grossmährische Rechtsdenkmäler byzantinischen Ursprungs", in V. Vavřinek (ed.), *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.- 11. Jahrhundert*, Prague 1978, 361-385, esp. 374ff.

Methodian mission on the basis of the Byzantine *Ecloga*.[46] The export of slaves from Moravia is also documented by the Raffelsteten list of custom rates dating from 904.[47]

The inland trade in slaves was practiced mostly by Jews. It is true that the quoted *Life of St. Nahum* is the only evidence in this respect for the Great Moravian Empire. Nonetheless, there is enough information about this trade in later periods. In the 960s a Jewish merchant from Cordoba wrote a report about Slavic countries north of the Danube, in which he praised Bohemia, once a province and then the successor state of Great Moravia, as a centre of international trade in slaves and as one of major export goods.[48] Jewish traders' settlements—the so-called *Judendörfer*—along ancient Roman roads on the territory of present-day Austria are well documented for the 11th century, but there are good reasons to suppose that they had existed long before.[49] The central market place these trade routes headed for was Venice, from where the slaves were sold mostly to Arab lands, but not exceptionally also to Byzantium, though it was forbidden.[50] The Arab term *al-Saqāliba* indicates that most of those slaves were Slavs, although also members of other ethnic groups might have been denoted like that.[51]

Thus the maritime route along the Adriatic sea shore seems to have been not only the major trade connection between Byzantium and Italy; with Venice serving as an exchange point, it also continued by land through Pannonia to the North, connecting the Slavic regions on the upper Danube with the Mediterranean.

47. *Inquisitio de theloneis*,ed. MMFH IV, 114-119. On the Moravian trade with foreign countries, see D. Třeštík, "Trh Moravanu—ústředni trh staré Moravy" (The 'Market of Moravians'—the Central Market Place of Old Moravia), *Československý časopis historický* 21 (1973) 869-894.

48. Ed. MMFH III, 410-420, esp. 413.

49. Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médievale*, 1-2, Gent 1955-1977, esp. v. 2, 169.

50. J. Hoffmann, "Die östliche Adriaküste als Hauptnachschubbasis für den venezianischen Sklavenhandel bis zum Ausgang der elften Jahrhundert", *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 55 (1968) 165-181.

51. T. Lewicki, "Świat slowianski v oczach pisarzy arabskich" (The Slavic World Viewed through the Eyes of Arab Writers), *Slavia Antiqua* 2 (1949-1950) 321-388, esp. 327.

Evangelos Venetis

THE SASSANID OCCUPATION OF EGYPT (7TH CENT. A.D) ACCORDING TO SOME PAHLAVI PAPYRI ABSTRACTS.

The conquest of Egypt by the Sassanids (2nd decade of the seventh century A.D[2]) was undoubtedly an event of great importance and this is denoted by the fact that it had been under Roman rule for more than six centuries. This vast, rich and prosperous territory was one of the main parts of the Later Roman Empire. Due to the instability of this territory, Constantinople was always keeping a strong eye on the political, religious, financial and social life of the Nile country in order to avoid any revolutionary or any other unpleasant actions.

The great significance of Egypt as a vital territory of the Roman empire and the serious consequences of the Sassanid conquest and occupation of Egypt for the near future of the area always attracted the re-

1 This paper is a humble token of appreciation to Prof. V. Christides for his tireless promotion of Graeco-Oriental studies and is the written version of a paper presented at the 8th *International Congress on Graeco-Oriental & African Studies* (Chios-Oinousses, Greece, 5-9 July 2000) held by the Institute for Graeco-Oriental and African Studies. I would like to thank historian Stavros Tsiastas for the beneficial discussions we had.

2. The precise time of the Sassanid conquest of Egypt is not specified; the sources for this matter are Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, Leipzig 1883; Agapius, (Mahboub) de Menbidj, *Kitāb al-ᶜUnvān* (Histoire Universelle), ed. & tr. Vasiliev, P.O. v. V, VII,VIII, XI, Paris 1909; Bar Hebraeus, Gregory Abu'l Faraj, *The Chronography*, ed. & tr. E. Wallis Budge, 2 v., Oxford 1932; Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, ed. & tr. J.B. Chabot, v. 3, Paris 1899-1904; Thomas the Elder, *Liber Caliphorum, Anecdota Syriaca*, t. I, Lugdunum-Batavorum 1862-1875.

searcher for the study of this era[3], however it is well known that the historical sources for the period of the Sassanid occupation of Egypt remain generally silent[4]. The absence of really valuable historical or any other kind of material is still an obstacle for the researcher who is willing to investigate the details for this period[5].

The corpus of papyri of the State Museum at Berlin was edited by O. Hansen and is a valuable material for this "silent" period of Sassanian-Byzantine relations. Due to the obscurity of the texts, the information found in the papyri text is scarce and insufficient for the researcher

3 Theophanes, op.cit., pp. 464-465 briefly notes about the conquest of Egypt: *"Τοῦτο τό ἔτος κατέλαβαν οἱ Πέρσαι πᾶσαν τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τὴν Λιβύην καὶ ἔφθασαν μέχρις Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ λαβόντες πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πολλὰ λάφυρα καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἐπέστρεψαν"*. Apparently Theophanes does not have the necessary information or at least he does not want to pay attention to the event of the Sasanid conquest of Egypt. Moreover, it has to be pointed out that the historical evidence concerning the end of the Sasanid occupation in Egypt is extremely limited and insufficient for the researcher in order to draw some preliminary conclusions. Nicephorus, *Ιστορία Σύντομος*, μτφ. Λίνα Κωσταρέλη, εκδ. Κανάκη, Αθήνα 1994, p. 65 writes that *"εἰρήνης γενομένης πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνατολικὴν γῆ ἀποδίδει ὁ Σαρμπαρὰζ τοῖς Ρωμαίους"*. In general, nothing is certain about this period. It is not known when exactly Persian left Egypt, whether Shahrbaraz evacuated the country from his troops immediately and completely or the evacuation was gradual. In general, for the sources dealing with the end of the Sasanid occupation in Egypt, see A. Stratos, Byzantium in the Seventh Century, tr. M. Ogilvie-Grant, ed. A. M. Hakkert, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 113-114. Also see T. Daryaee, *The Sasanian Empire*, transl. in Persian by M. Saghebtar, Tehran 1383/2004, pp. 50, 193-4.

4 The historical material provided by the literary sources concerning the first decades of the 7th century is extensive enough, covering the years before the Sasanid conquest AD. However most of the sources give just a short and comprehensive account of the Sasanid conquest of Egypt; For the identity of the Persian leader of the military campaign against Egypt, see al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa 'l mulūk (History of the Prophets and Kings)*, tr. C.E. Bosworth, Bibliotheca Persica, New York 1999., Nicephorus Patriarch, Michel le Syrien, op.cit.; Bar Hebraeus, op. cit; Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, Migne, PG. 111; John the Almsgiver, *Βίος και Πολιτεία Ιωάννου Αρχιεπισκόπου Αλεξάνδρειας, Συμεών του Μεταφραστού εις μήνα Ιανουάριο*, Migne P.G., τ. 114. For comparative research concerning the war in Asia Minor see Life of Anastasius the Persian, Ἀναστασίου τοῦ Πέρσου, *Ἐγκώμιον Μάρτυρος*, εκδ. Pertusi, An.Bol., τομ. 76, 1958 and the *Chronicle Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf, CSHB., v. 2, Bonn 1832.;

5. The evidence for this period is scarce, and the problem of dating several documents is ongoing. See E. Chrysos, "The Date of Papyrus SB 4483 and the Persian Occupation of Egypt", *Dodone* 4 (1975), pp. 341-148.

in order to shape a clear picture about several issues during the Sassanid occupation of Egypt. Many details of the daily life are found but these details are most of the time only keywords or phrases with no syntactical connection. The destruction of the papyri by the passing of time made their study very difficult.

The papyri are written in Middle Persian-Pahlavi and the historical material found in these papyri gives an interesting picture from the Persian point of view. Most of the texts are epistles from Persians to Persian individuals in Egypt and the historian is able through their information to approach the life of that time through the eye of the Persian side. The content of the texts has an individual character and most of the epistles deal with personal matters, such as the state of health of a recipient[6]. The details provided in the papyri texts deal with several fields of the daily life of that time: finance (coinage, commercial life), administration[7].

As far as the financial details given in these texts, some papyri are of real interest. Papyri 3 and 6 provide some evidence about the monetary status in Egypt during these 10 years of the Sassanid dominion. In Papyrus 3 (P. 15495) there is the reference of the terms *"dēnār"* and *"kīrāt"*. The later term apparently comes from the Greek term *"κεράτιον"*[8]. The use of *"dēnār"* is accompanied by the number 30 and it was probably a price of a product or service. Apparently the use of these terms is a clear proof of the monetary division in Egypt of that time. Papyrus 6 (P. 8804) contains the medieval Persian name for the Greek term *"δραχμή"*[9]. It must be assumed that Persians used their

6. O. Hansen, *Die mittelpersischen Papyri der Papyrussamlung der Staatlichen Museen*, Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften - Philosophisch-historische Klasse (Jahrang 1937), Berlin 1938, p. 81; Papyrus 55 (P. 8824) is a letter for someone's health. The use of the religious term *"yẕ'd'n"* (=Gods) in the letter denotes the importance of the religious feeling concerning cases of serious health problems. In general the term *"yẕ'd'n"* is met in many letters of these papyri texts and this is an important element of the usual style of writing epistles for the Zoroastrians: "*You, concerning the health of whom we adore (?), be calm, because you have to (?) ...... [to] Yazatas.*"

7. In the greatest number of the papyri texts no historical material can be detected.

8. Hansen, op. cit., p. 30, P. 15945.

9. ibid., p. 33. The medieval Persian term in Papyrus 6 (P. 8804) is Ẕ*WYN* "...(4) *in the price of 20 (?) and from a portion the amount of 38 drahmas*".

coins in the financial life of that time with their monetary divisions (*dēnār, dirham etc.*)[10]. The use of the term is evidence that the Byzantine coins were not out of circulation during this period. It is very probable that Persians let the use of the Byzantine monetary system because they were one of the main elements of the economic life and the whole financial activity in Egypt was based on the Byzantine coins before the Sassanid conquest. It was impossible and unpractical for the Sassanids to try to replace the Byzantine coins within 10 years. However, it must be assumed that they had a plan to replace gradually the circulation of those coins.

Many other texts deal with commerce and provide valuable material for the financial and commercial activity of daily life in Egypt during the Sassanid dominion. The text of papyrus 14 (P. 8801) deals with commercial activities and, although the text is not saved in good condition, the terms "quantity" and "price" are clearly referred[11]. In Papyrus 12 (P. 8800) there is an official document the recipients of which were all the citizens of Egypt, in this document the price of a product or a service is fixed[12]. Papyrus 28 (P. 15484) is concerned with an amount of "wine" that was "bought"[13].

In Papyrus 29 (P. 8809) the text is a list of commercial and daily life interest as well. It consists of 36 lines full of quantities and names of food products and animals. This papyrus is really important because the researcher can draw information about the animals that were popular at that time concerning trade, daily use, food etc. It is well-known that

10. Concerning the monetary divisions of the Sassanids see R. Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, Brunswick 1971; M. Mochiri, *Etudes de Numismatique Iranienne sous les Sassanides et Arabe-Sassanides*, T. II, Teheran 1977.

11. The part of the text where some one can detect the commercial character of the text P. (8801) are lines 3, 4 and 5. The translation of the whole text is: "*(1) ... listen: (2) .. k'rykr, since ..... (3) and the quantity ..... (4) from the price (?) ...... (5) Because the lord knows, (6) that these ..... (7) .... is coming. (8) So, they come .... (9) the lord knows ...... k'rykr ...... 1000. Then on the day Varhran to ...... I am coming ...*"

12. The Persians in Egypt used mostly the months of the Egyptian and less the Zoroastrian calendar (line 3: *twpys, Tūbi,* Egyptian month), since the commercial affairs with the local population made the use of the Egyptian calendar necessary. Hansen, op. cit., pp. 39-42. Translation: *"(1) To the citizens ... (6) of ..., to the merchant, (7) from whom 500 ... are demanded (8) for 18 dēnārs."*

13. ibid., p. 52.

many times, instead of coinage, people were using the method of exchanging products in order to buy the product they wanted. Moreover the Persian counting system is used in order to count the quantities of food and animals (wine, pigs, meat of wild ass, chicken, doves, eggs, white wine, valuable wine etc.)[14]. From the text it is obvious that the white wine was very popular that period and was most of the time the main drink accompanying the daily food or the main part of drinks during night entertainment[15].

In the parchment 54 (P. 8823) in the obverse side of the text there is maybe an order for payment of several individuals, whose names are *"Anahiδχ-ραδ", "D'tb'r", "mwrs", "δ...", "'prh'm", "krwč"*[16]. Their multiple payment is usually a coin (*dēnār or dirham*), a quantity of wine, leather and barley. The term *dwrk' (=amphora, jar)* is very important since it is an evidence of the way the wine was transferred, bought and delivered. On the other hand, the content of the text may not be an order for payment but a commercial order of delivering goods to some clients. Anyhow, it is a commercial document of that time providing many details about the commercial and financial activities (orders, way of delivering products, kinds of products etc.).

As far as Papyrus 6 (P. 8804) is concerned, it must be noticed that it contains information about the prices of several products; the significance of wine is obvious for one more time. The significant element of this papyrus is the term " *'rt'p'* " (<Greek *αρτάβη*, <Old Persian *artaba*), a way of measuring the weight of corns in the Middle East. The, significance, however of this text is not only financial.

Very little information is drawn from the papyri about the administration in Egypt during the ten years of the Sassanid dominion. In the

14. The use of the term *"rkynk'"* (<Latin *"lagena"* and Greek *"λεκάνη"*) in the line 2 and the term *"kwtk'"* in the line 6 (< Greek *"κρατὴρ"*) gives a glimpse of the terminology that was in practice in commerce that time, ibid., p. 55.

15. The Pahlavi terms for the white wine are *'sy spnt* (lines 4, 10, 17, 23, 30) and for the valuable wine *'sy wyr'stk'* (lines 5, 11, 18, 24, 31). ibid., p. 55.

16. ibid., p. 81. P. 8823. Translation: "...*(2)...For it has to be given to Anahiδχ-ραδ (3)1 denar... (4) ...... cow, ass and calf, (5)2 linen textiles .....given in two half, (6) for D'tb'r half dirham and for mwrs (7) 2 dwrk' of wine and ..... (8) 3 pieces of leather .... (9) to δ...(?) and 'prh'm 1 barrel of wine [and 3 (?) artvaves of krithari and 5 artaves ....(?) (II) To Mahfārroχ Yazdankard. They were delivered.*".

text of papyrus 6[17] there is the phrase *"The officer from the regiment of ..."*. Any interpretation based on this scarce evidence is risky, but it seems probable from the study of the text that is it is about letter dealing with the payment of an officer. The letter is addressed to *"Yazdankard"*, who may be a merchant. However, the sender of the letter is unknown, maybe another military officer, superior to the *"officer"* of the text. In papyrus 41 (P. 15460) there is a similar scarce phrase *"the officer from the battalion"*[18]. Papyrus I also includes the term *"leader of Tan"*, revealing a rank in the administrative/military hierarchy[19]. The details are basic and not impressive. There were Persian troops in Egypt and a usual hierarchy with officers who received their payment in several types. The merchants were those who provided the food and other products necessary for the Sassanid army. There is nothing new and strange for the common concept for these administrative structures. However, despite their insufficient information, the papyri texts provide an elementary image of the military administrative status of Sassanids in Egypt.

Papyri 5 and 51 are of minor significance but for their geographical and historical terms. In papyrus 5 (P. 8826) the researcher reads the term " *'rksnd'ry'* " (=probably Alexandria)[20]. In another text (P. 15056) someone reads the term *"b'pyrwn"* (=Babylon, the Islamic *al-Fustat* and modern *Cairo*)[21]. Both cities are well known and at that period they were the most important cities of Egypt. The several activities of the conquerors took place throughout the period of their dominion and the existence of these papyri shows the attention that Sassanids paid for these cities in order to impose their rule on the local population. These two cities were the centers of the Sassanid administration in Egypt. Alexandria was not only an intellectual center but also a very important port for the trade with the Red Sea and the East in general.[22] Babylon

17. ibid., p. 33.

18. ibid., pp. 67-68. P. 15460. The difference between regiment and battalion is an interesting element concerning the structure of the Sassanid Army.

19. ibid., p. 23.

20. ibid., p.32.

21. ibid., p. 75.

22. A.J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the last thirty years of the Roman dominion*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1978.

on the other hand was very important for its strategic place in the middle of the desert, controlling the land from Upper Egypt to the ports of the Mediterranean through the Nile River. Nothing specific can be said about these two papyri since there are no further details.

Two other papyri do not include any important historical terms but they are in a good condition and completely readable. Papyri I[23] and 2[24] are very similar, since the recipient has the same name *(Yazdankard)* and it may be assumed that it is the same person since the way of writing is the same in these two papyri texts. Moreover, the first 5 lines of every text are almost the same in phrases or meaning. The class and profession of *Yazdankard* are unknown but from the context it may be assumed that was a high-ranking citizen in the society of the Sassanids. It is uncertain whether he was an officer, administrative or military, or a ruler-feudal leader. The importance of these texts lies on the typical phrases Persians used in their letters and epistles. The words *"honor"*, *"prosperity"*, *"health"* and *"joy"* were used apparently in the introductory part of every letter. Usually most of these terms are met in the last lines of every letter too[25].

Another matter of crucial significance is the date of these papyri. Papyrus 53 (P. 15354) contains a chronological term which is very important for its date. Particularly it is written *"ŠNT 2" (Second year)*. The text is saved in bad condition and the reading of the text is impossible. Therefore, this phrase is isolated from the initial context of the text and it

23. Hansen, op.cit., pp. 23-24. P. 8826. Translation: "*(1) To Lord Yazdankard honor (2).....prosperity, health and joy (3) and every kind of happiness may be with our r... (4) and wishes. (5) may be always for the lord prosperous, (6) the lord in order to be informed I give the information that...on the day Anerân to the village (9) ... went. Lord! (10) the leaders of "Tan", the ... and Asvân (11) ...on the day Anerân ...... (12) ...... from the village 'prh'm (13) .... as ...... (14) .... comes and greater joy (15) [..] (16) ..... (17) .. and greater joy to (;) ...*"

24. ibid., p. 27. Translation: "*To Yazdankart whom Yazatas make (2) always happier, honor... (3) prosperity, health and every kind of (4) happiness may be with our r..... (5) wishes; may (6) for our lord always be prosperous, (7) I [have?], but for arzam (?) .... (8) .... sent ...... (9) 2 (?) chickens, 300 larks ... (10) ... 40 (doves)*".

25. ibid. P. 23. Papyrus 1. Translation: "*... (14) .... comes and greater joy (15) [..] (16) ..... (17) .. and greater joy to (;) Also ibid., p. 31. Papyrus 4 (P. 8817).Translation: (1) To ..... honor, ... (2) prosperity and health and joy and every kind of happiness always (3) with the lord ...(may be)...*"

is very difficult to be interpreted. Hansen in his monumental work points out correctly that the whole matter can not be interpreted under these circumstances. One of the interpretations he gives is that the chronological definition corresponds to the second year of the Sassanid dominion and he specifies it to the year 620/621. This explanation is very probable provided the Sassanid conquest took place in 619. However, the literary sources do not agree with an exact year of the Sassanid conquest[26]. Regardless to the problem of definition of the exact year of the Sassanid conquest, the explanation of Hansen is reasonable taking under consideration the facts available to the researcher. However, the date of 620-1 proposed by him is uncertain, since there is not stable evidence about the year of the Sassanid conquest of Egypt.

The historical details provided by these papyri texts are not sufficient. However, they give an elementary account of several unknown parts of daily life in Egypt during the Sassanid dominion in the fields of commerce, daily financial activity, the monetary system, etc. The conclusions that can be made are not stable till the moment that new material will help the researcher to use these details in a more complete way in order to depict approximately the historical scene of this "silent" period.

26. See ftn. 1.

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Announcement

SASANIKA

Late Antique Near East Project

The establishment of the Sasanian Empire in 224/6 A.D. by Ardashir I (224/6-241 A.D.) at the province of Fars marked the renaissance and re-establishment of the Iranian culture as the central and protagonist element in the political life of the Iranians. After the Alexandrian conquest (336-323 B.C) and during the Seleucid (312-129 B.C) and Parthian periods (250 B.C – 224 A.D) the Iranian culture had coexisted with the Greek one forming the Graeco-Iranian civilization in Iran. The Sasanian period lasted almost five centuries (224/6-651 A.D.) and during this time the Sasanians promoted the Iranian civilization and culture to an unprecedented extend.

The Sasanian period is rightly considered by some modern scholars as the golden age of pre-Islamic Iran. In every aspect of life, it is marked by great achievements; in administration, economy, in several aspects of the art of the Iranians, in literature and science. In political terms, the Sasanian Empire was along with the Later Roman Empire / Byzantium the most powerful Empires in Late Antiquity.

The influence of the Iranian civilization upon other cultures of that time (Graeco-Roman of the Later Roman Empire, Arabs of Mesopotamia, Bilad al-Sham and Arabian Peninsula, the inhabitants of Central Asia, Sind and Afghanistan) is indicative of the Iranian high cultural standards in the Sasanian era. Nevertheless, the 'Sasanian miracle' has not been credited as much as it deserves by modern scholarship. In particular, the Sasanian period is an inseparable part of Late Antiquity where the Graeco-Roman tradition has been given the predominant role by the modern researchers of this period. However, the Sasanian civilization deserves more attention since the influence of Sasanian Iran upon several fields of the universal culture of that time was catalytic.

The *Sasanika Project* is an important development in the field of Iranian Studies aiming precisely to integrate the Sasanian civilization and culture into Late Antiquity as a vital aspect of world history. The Project is directed by Dr. Turaj Daryaee (California State University, Fullerton) and has an international advisory board of experts [Kamyar

Abdi (Dartmouth College), Michael Alram (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften), Daryoosh Akbarzadeh (National Museum of Iran), Parissa Andami (Money Museum, Tehran), Carlo G. Cereti (University of Rome), Erich Kettenhofen (University of Trier), Richard N. Frye (Harvard University), Maria Macuch (Free University of Berlin), Michael G. Morony (University of California, Los Angeles), Antonio Panaino (University of Bologna), James Russell (Harvard University), A. Shapur Shahbazi (East Oregon University), Rahim Shayegan (Harvard University), P. Oktor Skjaervo (Harvard University), Evangelos Venetis (University of Edinburgh), Joel T. Walker (University of Washington), Donald Whitcomb (University of Chicago)]. The advisory committee consists of Ali Makki and Jamshid Varza. Website coordinators of the Project are Haleh Emrani and Khodadad Rezakhani.

This effort is about the reconstruction of the past and the re-evaluation of the Sasanian contribution and influence upon the universal developments in Late Antiquity. The promotion of the Sasanian civilization and culture by the Sasanika Project also includes the creation of a website *(www.sasanika.com)* referring to the Sasanian civilization aiming to bring together the admirers and scholars of Sasanian past and to publish the most up-to-date information about several fields and disciplines in Sasanian studies. Moreover, the Sasanika Project plans to establish panels on specific themes in Sasanian studies, such as a) The state of Sasanian studies (Middle East Studies Association, November 2004 in San Francisco); b) The Sasanians and Roman Empires; etc. The conferences will be conducted at California State University, Fullerton which provides facilities such as the art conference rooms, and includes on its premises the Marriott hotel. Finally, the Project's goal is the publication of several aspects of Sasanian material culture. For example the California State University, Fullerton has an agreement with the National Museum of Iran to publish its Sasanian seals in the future.

The Sasanika Project (*www.sasanika.com*) is a pioneer endeavor in the field of Sasanian Studies worldwide. Any comments, thoughts and contributions should be addressed to the Director of the Sasanika Project (tdaryaee@Exchange.FULLERTON.EDU).

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